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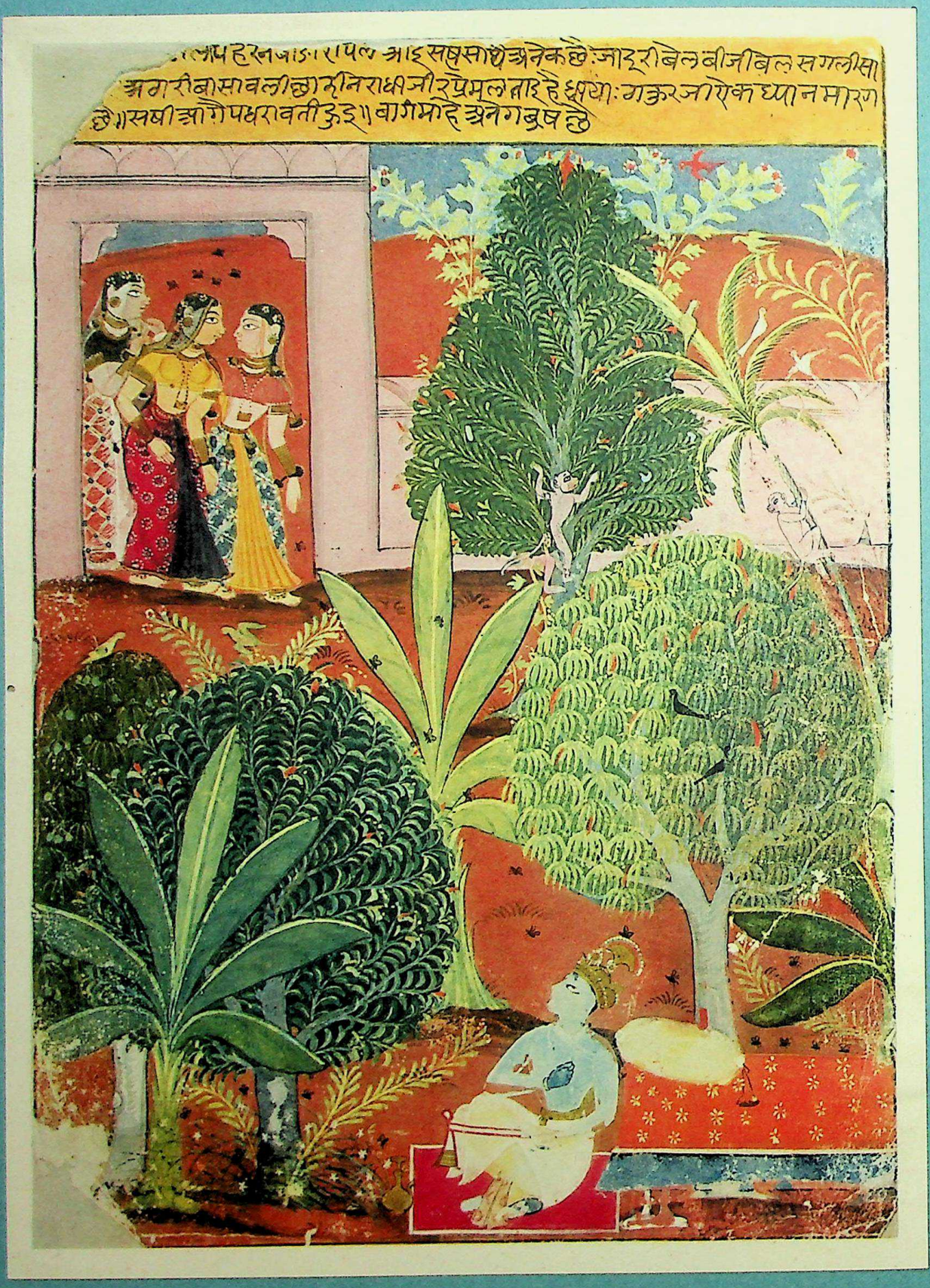

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PART V

RĀJPUT PAINTING

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc. (Lond.)

KEEPER OF INDIAN AND MUHAMMADAN ART
IN THE MUSEUM

PUBLISHED FOR THE
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON
BY THE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
1926

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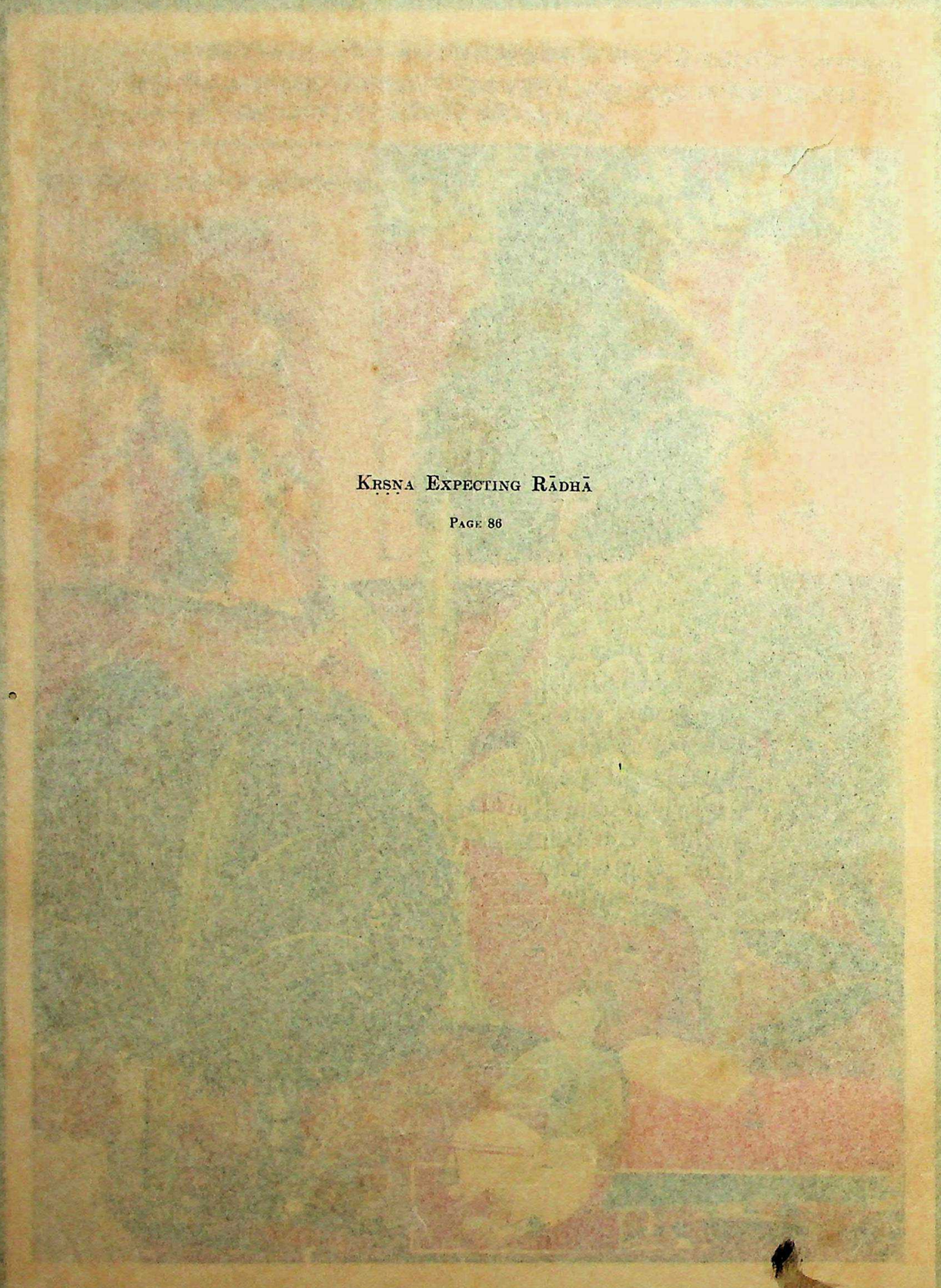

KRSNA EXPECTING RĀDHĀ

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CATALOGUE

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THE collection of Rājput paintings includes the greater part of the Coomaraswamy, now Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection, given to the Museum by Dr. Denman W. Ross in 1917. Amongst these are a majority of the important and standard examples illustrated in my "Rājput Painting"; many other items are individually unimportant, but valuable for the study and definition of local styles and methods. Some have a historical and personal interest, e. g., those representing Pahāṛī rājās, and particularly Saṁsār Cand, the chief patron of the Kāṅgṛā school. In addition to the above, two seventeenth-century Rāgiṇīs in the Ross Collection (Nos. L, LI) may be mentioned as of special interest and beauty; and of later acquisitions by purchase, Nos. XXXIX (coloured frontispiece), I (one of the earliest Rāgiṇīs), and CCCCLXIV (a very sensitive portrait of a rājā of Jodhpur). The collection as a whole is undoubtedly the largest and most representative in the world.

Since my "Rājput Painting" appeared, in 1916, the main outlines of our knowledge have not been greatly modified, but additional information has accumulated, mainly through the studies of Dr. Hermann Goetz, and miscellaneous publications in Rūpam, and this information has been as far as possible incorporated in the present volume, particularly in the section on costume. Two important volumes on Rājput painting have been announced by O. C. Gangoly, and N. C. Mehta: I regret that these were not available at the time this Catalogue was completed.

In a few instances, considerable interest attaches to the history of the motifs represented: the student is referred especially to Nos. XIV, XXVIII, XXXIX, LXXVI, LXXVII, XCII, CLVIII, CLXIV, CLXXXIX, CCCXCIII, CCCXCIX, DCLV, DCLVI, and to the section on Ancient Themes in Rājput Painting. The Nala-Damayantī series presents a valuable picture of traditional court life. No. CXCVIII offers an unusually long and complete Tāntrik sādhānā.

It should be observed that the dimensions quoted for each object are those of the whole object, original mount included: hence the quoted dimensions differ in many cases from those of the part reproduced, but the difference is never large. In each case the horizontal dimension is given first, the vertical second.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

Boston, August 1, 1926.

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PART V
RĀJPUT PAINTINGS

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Map of Rājasthān and the Pañjāb Himālayas (Reproduced from C., *R.P.*)

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SCHOOLS OF RĀJPUT PAINTING

1. Rājasthānī

It is easy to make a broad distinction of Rājput paintings according to their origin as Rājasthānī (from Rājputāna and part of Central India), and Pahāṛī (from the Pañjāb Himālayas and Gaṛhwāl); and according to date as Early (late sixteenth and early seventeenth century) and Late (mainly 1750–1825). Pure types in either of these four classes can be identified at a glance. Between these extremes are examples of which some can be placed and dated with confidence, and others only with hesitation.

The early Rājasthānī paintings no doubt included local schools flourishing (1) in Bundelkhaṇḍ, (2) in Mewāṛ (Udaipur), (3) in Western Mālwā and Gujarāt (cf. No. XXXIX), (4) at various courts in Central Rājputāna, such as Jodhpur, Bikanīr, and above all Jaipur. More distantly related to these are the paintings of the Bengālī book covers. In the following paragraphs is summarized the scanty information we possess towards a corresponding classification of the paintings.

Bundelkhaṇḍ

It is possible that the early *Rāgmālā* paintings (Nos. I–XVI) dating somewhat before and after 1600 may belong to a school of painting that flourished at Oṛchā and Datiā. But this suggestion is only based on the general character of the architecture represented in these paintings, and on the language of the inscribed poems: it may not be well founded.

All that we know for certain is that wall paintings of Vaiṣṇava subjects (Kṛṣṇa Līlā and *Rāmāyaṇa*) are represented on the walls of the Phūl Bāgh and Śīś Mahal at Oṛchā, and Bīr Siṅgh Deo's Mahal at Datiā dating according to Mukherji "from about 1600 A.D."; in the arches and niches of the walls of the Narsiṅghjī temple at Talbehet, of early eighteenth-century date; and frescoes in the *chatri* of the Bānpur palace, and in the Lakṣmī temple at Oṛchā, dating from the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[1]

[1] Mukherji, P. C., *Report on the Antiquities of the District of Lalitpur*, Roorkee, 1899, pp. 27–29, and pls. 83–94, 96–98. Unfortunately the outline reproductions are too poor to permit of any estimate of the date or quality of the originals.

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Mewāṛ

It is natural to suppose that the peculiar pictures of Kṛṣṇa as Śrī Nāthajī, etc. (see Nos. CCXX–CCXXIII), and related paintings to be connected with the Vallabhācārya Vaiṣṇavas, and now widely distributed, were already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made at Nāthadvāra and thence distributed by pilgrims or otherwise to Vallabhācāryas in all parts of Rājputāna and Gujarāt. Wall paintings of seventeenth-century date are preserved in the walls of some of the island palaces at Udaipur and more recent portraits and other paintings on the walls of the main palace.

Mālwā and Gujarāt

All or most of the paintings of the Gujarātī school, *i. e.*, those of the Jaina manuscripts [1] and the *Vasanta Vilāsa* [2] belong to a style that had its main centre in Pāṭan, the headquarters of Jainism in Western India. The picture No. XXXIX, both in style and in the language of the superscription, approximates to the same type, but is at present the only known example of Rājasthānī painting showing any marked affinities with the Gujarātī school. The relation of the early Pahāṛī types with the Gujarātī may be close.

Jodhpur

That skilled artists worked at the Jodhpur court in the seventeenth century is proved by the fine portraits, Nos. CCCCLXI, CCCCLXIV, whose provenance is recognizable by the special form of the large turban.[3]

Bikanīr

No small pictures in a purely Rājput style are certainly assignable to Bikanīr, though a considerable number of pictures in a provincial Mughal style with some Rājput elements and of mid-seventeenth-century date have been seen. On the other hand there are several painted rooms in the Old Palace, and one at least of these, dating from the seventeenth century, has walls completely decorated with clouds and rain; a good modern copy of a small part of this decoration is represented by No. CCCXCIVB, with

[1] Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Catalogue Indian Collections, Boston, Pt. IV, Jaina paintings and manuscripts*, Boston, 1924.

[2] Mehta, N. E., *Indian painting in the fifteenth century*, Rūpam 22, 23, 1925; Gangoly, O. C., *Vasanta Vilasa: a new document of Indian Painting*, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, N. F., 2, 1925.

[3] A later Jodhpur portrait is reproduced by V. A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, fig. 229.

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a discussion of the history of this ancient motif. Bikanīr, further, is the centre of a considerable industry in lacquered leather and painted gesso.[1]

Jaipur

It is reasonable to suppose that Amber, the Kachvāha capital previous to the founding of the neighboring city of Jaipur, was already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the main centre of Rājasthānī painting. It is on the whole more likely that the early *Rāgmālā* series are of Kachwāha than of Bundelā origin. It is to be supposed that this was also the main source of Rājput influence at the Mughal court; it will be remembered that Mān Siṅgh of Amber was a high official at the courts of Akbar and Jahāngīr and that the latter's mother, one of Akbar's wives, was the daughter of Rājā Bhagavān Dās of Amber. Certainly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Jaipur has been a more productive centre than any other capital in Rājputāna. A majority of Rājasthānī paintings, in fact, can be assigned to Jaipur without hesitation; and with these it is inevitable to group others, for the present, and until a more precise differentiation is possible.[2] Even at the present day the tradition of Rājput painting, both on walls and on paper, survives more vigorously in Jaipur than anywhere else, though it is not extinct in Bundelkhaṇḍ.[3] On the other hand, paintings of Hindū subjects in a purely Mughal style are by no means uncommon in the latter part of the reign of Akbar. Well-known examples are the illustrations of the Jaipur *Razm Nāmah;*[4] the *Rasikapriya* of Keśava Dās, nearly all the illustrations of which, dating about 1600, are in the Museum of Fine Arts;[5] various isolated themes;[6] and

[1] Hendley, T. H., *Industrial Art in Bikanir*, Journal of Indian Art, Vol. IV, 1892.

[2] Unfortunately, the collections in the Jaipur Museum are very poor. There exists in the Mahārājā's library a much finer series, including a number of large portraits, and the beautiful and very large *Rās Līlā* paintings, some of the copies and stencils for which are reproduced in C., *R. P.*, pls. IX, X, and *Indian Drawings*, II, pl. II; Nos. CCXVI–CCXIX, in this Catalogue.

[3] Mukherji, P. C. (*Antiquities of the District of Lalitpur*, p. 28) remarks that "the productions of the Jeypur and other indigenous schools still find a ready market among the natives, who have not imbibed English influence." "The Bundela painting is a living art still . . . originally this Bundela art sprang from that of the Chandela, which shows a decided superiority in anatomy and action."

[4] Hendley, T. H., *Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition*, London, 1883. The *Razm Nāmah* originally in Akbar's library was given by Muḥammad Shāh to Mahārāja Sivāī Jai Siṅgh of Jaipur early in the eighteenth century.

[5] Coomaraswamy, *The Rasikapriya of Kesava Das*, Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, No. 109 (Vol. XVIII, pp. 50–52).

[6] *E. g.*, M. F. A. 17.75, reproduced in M. F. A. Bulletin No. 93 (Vol. XVI, p. 3).

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portraits of Hindū princes.[1] Moreover, these paintings, and others of purely Mughal subjects reveal Rājput influences in two directions, that is to say in certain stylistic peculiarities, and in certain of the costumes, particularly those of women. These facts reflect the strong Rājput influences then prevailing at the Mughal court, the presence of Rājput princesses in the Imperial zenanas, and the circumstance revealed by a partial census of Mughal painters, that some three fourths of the known names are those of Hindūs. A consideration alike of these Mughal pictures of Hindū subjects, and of the Rājput influence in Mughal painting is naturally reserved for the catalogue of Mughal paintings.

2. Pahāṛī

The paintings of the Pañjāb Himālayas fall into two groups which up to now have been designated as Jamū and Kāṅgṛā. These designations, accurate as far as they go, are retained in the present volume, but it may be possible with more exact knowledge to classify some at least of the Pahāṛī paintings in accordance with the following scheme: [2]

(I) Jālandhar Group (East of the Rāvi)

State	*Ruling Class*
1. Cambā	Cambyāl
2. Nūrpur	Paṭhāniā [3]
3. Guler	Guleria
4. Datārpur	Dadwāl
5. Siba	Sibai
6. Jaswān	Jaswāl
7. Kāṅgṛā	Kaṭoch
8. Kuṭlehr	Kuṭlehriā
9. Maṇḍī	Maṇḍyāl
10. Suket	Suketiā
11. Kuḷū	Koḷua

[1] *E. g.*, M. F. A. 14.666 (Mān Siṅgh), and 14.670 (Rājā Saṁgrām). Regarding the latter see Coomaraswamy in Artibus Asiae. Cf. Clarke, S. C., *Indian Drawings*, 1922, pl. 19.

[2] Hutchinson, J. and J. Ph., *The Panjab Hill States*, Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, III, 2, 1915.

[3] This name has nothing to do with the Paṭhāns of Afghānistān: it is probably derived from the ancient name Pratiṣṭhāna.

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(II) Ḍogrā Group (West of the Rāvi)

1.	Cambā	Cambyāl
2.	Basohḷī	Balauriā, Balor, Balāvar[1]
3.	Bhadu	Bhadwāl
4.	Mānkoṭ	Mankoṭiā
5.	Behandrālta	Behandrāl, Bandrāl
6.	Jasrota	Jasrotiā
7.	Sāmba	Sambiāl
8.	Jamū, Jammū	Jamwāl, Jamuālā, Jamyālā
9.	Canehni	Hiuntāl
10.	Kaṣṭwāṛ	Kaṣṭwāṛiā
11.	Bhadrāwāh	Bhadrāwāhiā

Cambā belongs to both groups in the above scheme because it is divided by the Rāvi: and actually, the paintings of Cambā are intermediate between those of Jamū and Kāṅgṛā.

The Museum collections include examples which belong to both of the main groups, and to Gaṛhwāl, Amritsar, and Paṭyāla. In the first group the following states are represented: Nūrpur (No. DC), Guler (Nos. DCI, DCIV), Kāṅgṛā (the majority), Maṇḍi (No. DCIII), and Sukhet (No. DCII), and in the second group Jamū (the majority), and Behandrālta (No. DLXXXVIII). If, as is more than likely, other states are represented, I have not been able to distinguish their productions.

It has been stated that the so-called "Tibeti" pictures (the Amritsar dealer's name for the pictures here classified as Jamwāl, on which inscriptions in Ṭākrī characters are commonly found) should be described as Balauria (Basohli) rather than Jamuālī (Jamū).[2] In any case these represent the oldest and most peculiar type of Pahāṛī art, and the continuation of some older tradition. I am inclined to agree with a suggestion made to me by Dr. H. Goetz in correspondence "that Pahāṛī painting, perhaps together with Tārānātha's Kaśmīr school, was separated at a relatively early date from the School of the Ancient West, and evolved

[1] Hutchinson, J., and Vogel, J. Ph., History of *Basohli State*, Journ. Panjab Hist. Soc. IV, 2, 1917, pp. 88–90 reproduce (Plate II) four portraits of Balauria Rājās; as these are all a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century style, they cannot be regarded as anything but copies of older portraits.

[2] A. S. I., A. R., 1918–1919, pt. 1, p. 32. It is more likely that Jamū is the main source.

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on the basis of material originating somewhere between the Pāla and Jaina miniature styles, and perhaps near to that of the *Vasanta-Vilāsa* MS. On the other hand, after this, apparently influences proceeding from the Mughal court tended to the elimination of old forms and the formation of a unified style in works, and later on dispensed with every trace of the past."

It may be remarked that Jamū and Kāṅgṛā in the eighteenth century were by far the most powerful and wealthiest of all the Hill States.

The political relations of the Hill States with the Mughals, Afghāns and Sikhs are important for the proper understanding of the influences recognizable in Pahāṛī painting. With the advent of Mughal ascendancy all the Hill States were compelled to bow to a foreign yoke. Akbar held a part of the Kāṅgṛā valley; Jahāngīr occupied the fort in 1618. Princes or near relatives of the ruling chiefs were required to attend the Mughal court; at the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign as many as twenty-two young princes from the Pañjāb hills thus resided in Agra. The title Miāṅ was conferred on them and became the distinctive appellation of all the descendants of the twenty-two royal families of the hills. The imperial authority sat lightly on the hill Rājās, who were courteously and even generously treated; at home they conducted their own affairs in their own way, only paying an annual tribute to the Mughal emperor.

With the accession of Aurangzeb these happy relations came to an end. In the eighteenth century the Mughal empire began to break up, and the Emperor of Delhi ceded the Pañjāb provinces to Aḥmad Shāh Durāni, Afghān in 1752. But the Central and Eastern groups of Hill States were never more than nominally subject to the Durānis. Rājput princes held important positions under the Afghāns as they had under the Mughals: Rājā Ghamaṇḍ Cand Kaṭoch of Kāṅgṛā, for example, whose portrait is represented in No. DXCVIII in 1758 held the governorship of the Jālandhar Doāb and the hills between the Satlaj and the Rāvi. Saif 'Alī Khān,[1] a representative of the Mughals in Delhi, still held the Kāṅgṛā fort, although completely isolated by the independent Rājputs around it. From 1752 to 1764 the hill chiefs enjoyed almost complete freedom.

[1] There is a portrait of this last Mughal governor of Kāṅgṛā in the Lahore Museum, with an inscription in Persian and Ṭākrī characters (Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue Bhuri Siṅgh Museum*, p. 60).

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Afghān rule in the Pañjāb declined about 1767 and the Sikhs then acquired political power, and authority over the Kāṅgṛā hills, exacting tribute from Rājā Ghamaṇḍ Cand. In 1774 his grandson Saṁsār Cand succeeded to the kingdom of Kāṅgṛā, though he was not able to shake off the Sikh supremacy until 1785-86.

Saṁsār Cand revived the claims of Kāṅgṛā to the headship of the eleven states of the Jālandhar group: he fully established his power and ruled despotically for twenty years, gaining a name and renown greater than any of his ancestors. This must have been the flourishing period of the Kāṅgṛā school of painting in its most typical form. Saṁsār Cand's early court was held at Tehrā Shujānpur on the left bank of the Biās near Nādaun, a town which had already been embellished with many fine buildings in the time of Ghamaṇḍ Cand. Between 1787 and 1813 he was in possession of Kāṅgṛā Koṭ (Nagar Koṭ, the Fort) and may have spent some time there. In 1806 the Gurkhas invaded Kāṅgṛā and besieged the Fort where Saṁsār Cand had taken refuge; a four-years' siege failed to reduce it, but the country was devastated. Saṁsār Cand had no recourse but to invoke the aid of the Sikh ruler of the Pañjāb, Ranjīt Siṅgh, but in return for this he had to surrender the Fort and a large part of the Kāṅgṛā valley. Moorcroft, writing of the latter part of Saṁsār Cand's reign, after his return to Nādaun tells us that "the Rāja has resided principally at Shujānpur, or rather Ālampur on the right bank of the Biās, in gardens in which some small buildings accommodate himself and his court, and a larger one is erected for the zenana. His earlier residence and that of his predecessor was at Tirā (*i. e.*, Tarā Sujānpur) where an extensive pile of buildings stands upon an eminence on the left bank of the river. The apartments are more spacious and commodious than is usual in Indian palaces. . . . Raja Sansar Chand spends the early part of the day in the ceremonies of his religion, and from ten till noon in communication with his officers and courtiers. For several days prior to my departure he passed this period at a small bangala, which he had given up for my accommodation, on the outside of the garden. At noon the Raja retires for two or three hours, after which he ordinarily plays at chess for some time, and the evening is devoted to singing and naching, in which the performers recite most commonly Brijbhakha songs relating to Krishna."

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The extensive development of the Kāṅgṛā school of Pahāṛī painting in the latter part of the eighteenth century and earlier part of the nineteenth century was undoubtedly a direct result of Saṁsār Cand's personal patronage. "Sansar Chand," continues Moorcroft, "is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ; he has a large collection of pictures, but the greater part represent the feats of Krishna and Balaram, the adventures of Arjuna, and subjects from the Mahabharat; it also includes portraits of many of the neighbouring Rajas and of their predecessors. Amongst these latter were two portraits of Alexander the Great,[1] of which Rai Anirudha gave me one. It represents him with prominent features and auburn hair flowing over his shoulders; he wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls, but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not tell me whence the portrait came; he had become possessed of it by inheritance."

The Kāṅgṛā paintings and drawings so well represented in the Museum collections evidently depict the scenery of Nādaun, Shujānpur, and 'Ālampur, representing the palaces, gardens, hills, and waters of an idyllic retreat, the beauty of which must have fully justified the saying still current in the Hills, *Āegā Nādauṅ, Jāegā kauṅ ?* "Who that has reached Nādaun would ever leave it?"

Saṁsār Cand died in 1823 and was succeeded by his son Anirud Cand; the latter was forced to retire to British territory in 1827 where he died in 1628. Anirud's two sisters were married to the Rājā of Gaṛhwāl, a fact of interest in connection with the close connections between the Gaṛhwālī and Kāṅgṛā schools in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Very possibly Kāṅgṛā painters migrated with the princesses to Gaṛhwāl, escaping the troubled circumstances of Kāṅgṛā and finding a patronage that could no longer be extended to them at home. Kuḷū was the last State to lose its independence, in 1840. Cambā, Maṇḍi, and Suket escaped any worse fate than the exaction of tribute. Paintings from the Hill State of Gaṛhwāl farther east in the Himālayas are very closely related to those of the Kāṅgṛā or Eastern group; those of the Pañjāb plain, painted either

[1] *Cf.* Arch. Surv. India, *Loan exhibition of antiquities*, Pl. XXVIII C: and Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, p. 162.

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in Amritsar or Paṭyāla are of similar character, but with greater or less variation.

Soon afterwards Mahārājā Sher Siṅgh, who was more favourably inclined to the Hill States, succeeded Ranjīt Siṅgh in Lahore. Gulāb Siṅgh, however, annexed the province of Padar, really a part of Cambā, in 1836.

The history of the Western States must now be traced. Ranjīt Dev ruled in Jamū from 1750–1781, and was able to extend his dominions over the other States of the Ḍogrā group, and for a short time even over Cambā. The town of Jamū prospered, because the anarchy in the plains diverted trade to the hills, artizans and merchants settling in the hills for the sake of greater security. Most of the late Jamū paintings may be ascribed to this period. The Sikhs on several occasions failed to conquer Jamū, until Ranjīt Siṅgh in 1800 was able to exact a vassal's tribute from Sampūran Dev. Betewen 1783 and 1808 nearly all the other states of the Ḍogrā group became tributary to the Sikhs. Rajauri remained entirely independent till 1812, and was ruled by its own chiefs till 1846, when the hills came under the rule of Gulāb Siṅgh.

The latter was a prince of Jamū origin who quarrelled with his relatives, and with his two brothers entered the Sikh service under Ranjīt Siṅgh. Gulāb Siṅgh quickly rose to independent command and was employed in maintaining order in the hills of Jamū and Kaśmīr; in 1820 he was given the rank of Rājā and received Jamū as a fief. The second brother, Dhyān Siṅgh, was given the same style and the State of Punch in 1822 and from 1828 to 1843 he was Prime Minister of the Sikh rāj. The third brother was also made a Rājā and given the State of Behandrālta or Rāmnagar. In 1834 Basohli was annexed to Jamū.

There are portraits of Gulāb Siṅgh and Dhyān Siṅgh in the Bhuri Siṅgh Museum, Chambā, Nos. D XVII and D XVIII. Others are reproduced by Hönigberger, *Früchte aus dem Morgenlande*, Vienna, 1851, pl. 3.

At the close of the first Sikh war the States of the Jālandhar group came under British rule but the hereditary chiefs were not reinstated. On the other hand the States of the Ḍogrā group, with Kaśmīr, fell to Rājā Gulāb Siṅgh of Jamū, coupled with the obligation to respect the rights of the dispossessed princes. With the important exception of Kāṅgṛā, many of the states are still governed by Indian princes.

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The descendants of the Eastern Hill Rājputs are now mostly Jagīrdārs, holding the title of Rājā from the British Government as a hereditary distinction.

It will be useful to students of Pahāṛī schools to bring together from Hutchinson and Vogel's papers in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society* and other sources the following lists of the rulers of the Hill States from the end of the sixteenth century onwards.

CAMBĀ

Pṛthvī Siṅgh	1641–1644
Chatar Siṅgh	1664–1690
Umed Siṅgh	1748–1764
Rāj Siṅgh	1764–1794
Jīt Siṅgh	1794–1808
Caṛhat Siṅgh	1808–1844

Portraits of all these are preserved in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, Cambā, Nos. D I–D VIII (Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue*, pp. 28, 29); those of Rāj Siṅgh and Jīt Siṅgh, probably of late eighteenth-century date, are reproduced, *loc. cit.*, Pls. IV, V. A portrait of Jīt Siṅgh is reproduced in Ujfalvy, *Aus dem westlichem Himalaya*, Pl. VI (identified by G. Goetz, *Kostüm und Mode* . . . p. 94).

NURPUR

Pahāṛī Mal	1558–1580
Bās Dev [1]	1580–1613
Sūraj Mal	1613–1618
Jagat Siṅgh	1619–1646
(zenith of Nūrpur power)	
Rājrūp Siṅgh	1646–1661
Mandhātā	1661–1700
Dayadhātā	1700–1735
Pṛthvī Siṅgh	1735–1770
Fateh Siṅgh	1770–
Bīr Siṅgh [2]	1805–1846

The State was transferred to Gulāb Siṅgh of Jamū in 1846.

[1] A portrait of Bās Dev amongst the courtiers of Jahāngīr in a fresco painting in the Lahore Fort, representing Jahāngīr in Darbar, was seen by William Finch in 1611 (Maclagan, E. C., *Earliest English visitors to the Panjab*, J. P. H. S., I, 2, 1912, p. 126).

[2] There is a portrait of Bīr Siṅgh in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, Cambā, no. D. XV (Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue*, p. 30).

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RAJPUT PAINTINGS

Guler [1]

Rūp Cand	fl. 1623
Mān Siṅgh	fl. 1641
Rāj Siṅgh	fl. 1675–1700
Dalīp Siṅgh	
Prakāś Cand [2]	

Kāṅgṛā

Triloka Cand	1605
Hari Cand II	ca. 1615
Candar Bhān Cand	ca. 1635
Vijai Rām Cand	ca. 1660
Udai Rām Cand	1687
Bhīm Cand	ca. 1690
Alam Cand	ca. 1697
Hamīr Cand	1700–1747
Abhaya Cand	1747–1750
Ghamir Cand	1750–1751
Ghamaṇḍ Cand [3]	1751–1774
Tegh Cand	1774–1776
Saṁsār Cand [4]	1776–1824
Anirudh Cand	1824–1828

Maṇḍī

Sūraj Sen	1637–1664
Śyām Sen	1664–1679
Gur Sen	1679–1684
Sidh Sen	1684–
Shamsher Sen	1727–1781
Surma Sen	1781–1788
Īśvarī Sen	1788–1826
Zālim Sen	1826–1839

[1] I have not been able to find a complete list of the Rājās of Guler.

[2] No. DCI in this Catalogue.

[3] There is a portrait of Ghamaṇḍ Cand in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, No. D XII (Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue*, p. 29), and one each of Saṁsār Cand and Anirud Cand, Nos. D XIII and D XIV. A portrait of Saṁsār Cand is reproduced by Gupta, *Sikh school of painting*, Rūpam, 12, 1922: another is in my possession. Ghamaṇḍ Cand, Teg Cand, and Saṁsār Cand are represented in the present Catalogue, Nos. DXCV–DXCVIII.

[4] Gurkhas in Kāṅgṛā, 1806–1809: Sikh overlordship from 1809.

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Balbīr Sen [1]	1839–1851
Bajai Sen	1851–1902
Bhawāni Sen	1903–1912
Jagendra Siṅgh	1913

Sukhet

Śyām Seṇ	1620
Ram Seṇ	ca. 1650
Jīt Seṇ	ca. 1663
Garur Seṇ	1721
Bhikam Seṇ	1748
Rañjīt Seṇ	1762
Bikrama Seṇ[2]	1791
Ugar Seṇ	1838
Rudon Seṇ	1876
Arimardan Seṇ	1879
Duṣṭ Mikandan Seṇ	1879
Bhīm Seṇ	1908

Kuḷū

Partāp Siṅgh	1559–1575
Parbat Siṅgh	1575–1608
Prithī Siṅgh	1608–1635
Kaliān Siṅgh	1635–1637
Jagat Siṅgh	1637–1672
Bidhi Siṅgh	1672–1688
Mān Siṅgh	1688–1719
Rāj Siṅgh	1719–1731
Jai Siṅgh	1731–1742
Tedhī Siṅgh	1742–1767
Prītam Siṅgh	1767–1806
Bikrama Siṅgh	1806–1816
Ajīt Siṅgh	1816–1841
Thakur Siṅgh	1841–1852
Gyān Siṅgh	1852–1869

[1] Vigne, *Travels*, I, 79–84, resided in a "part of the palace which had lately been fitted up and painted in the Indian fashion, in fresco, on a snow-white wall."

[2] No. DCII in this Catalogue. Another in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, Cambā, No. D XVI (Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue*, p. 31).

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BASOHLI [1]

* Bhupat Pāl	1618–1635
Saṅgrām Pāl	1635–1673
* Hindāl Pāl	1673–1678
* Kripāl Pāl	1678–1693
Dhīraj Pāl	1693–1725
* Medinī Pāl	1725–1736
* Jīt Pāl	1736–1757
Amrit Pāl	1757–1776
Bijai Pāl	1776–1806
* Mahendar Pāl	1806–1813
* Bhupendar Pāl	1813–1834
Kalyān Pāl	1834–1846

In 1846 the State was one of those transferred to Gulāb Siṅgh of Jamū.

JAMŪ

Jag Dev	ca. 1560–1585		
Samīl Dev (in Jamū)		Parasrām Dev (in Bāhu)	ca. 1585
Sangrām Dev	ca. 1610–1625	Kṛṣan Dev	ca. 1610
Bhupat Dev	ca. 1625–1648	Azmat Dev	ca. 1635
Hari Dev		Kripal Dev	ca. 1660
Gajai Dev	ca. 1675	Ananta Dev	

Dhrub Dev	1703
Rañjīt Dev [2]	1703
Brajrāj Dev	1781
(Sikh Supremacy	1787–1846)
Sampūran Dev	1787
Jīt Siṅgh [3]	1797–1816 (?)
Gulāb Siṅgh [4]	1822–1857

(Gulāb Siṅgh's brothers Dhyān Siṅgh [5] and Sucet Siṅgh [6] acted for the Sikhs as Viceroys of smaller states: the latter became Rājā of Bandhrālta and was killed in Lahore in 1844.)

[1] The names marked with a preceding asterisk are represented in Pahāṛī miniatures in the Lahore Museum; but the four examples reproduced by Hutchinson and Vogel, J. P. H. S., IV, 2, Pl. II, are all late drawings, apparently copies by the same hand. There also is a portrait of Amrit Pāl in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, No. D XI (Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue*, p. 29).

[2] A portrait in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, Cambā (No. D X (Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue*, p. 29).

[3] No. DXCIII in this Catalogue.

[4] A portrait in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, Cambā, No. D XVIII (Vogel, *loc. cit.*, p. 31). Portraits of Gulāb Siṅgh and Dhyān Siṅgh also in Hönigberger, *Früchte aus dem Morgenlande*, Vienna, 1851, pl. 3. No. DXCII in this Catalogue may represent this Dhyān Siṅgh.

[5] A portrait in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, Cambā, No. D XVIII, Vogel, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

[6] No. DXCI in this Catalogue.

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Kaśmīr and Jamū

Gulāb Siṅgh	1846–1857
Ranbīr Siṅgh	1857–1885
Partāp Siṅgh	1885–1925
Hari Siṅgh	1925

Kaṣṭwāṛ

Partāp (Bhūp) Siṅgh	1588–1616
Gur Siṅgh	1616–1629
Jagat Siṅgh	1629–1642
Bhagawān Siṅgh	1642–1661
Mahā Siṅgh	1661–1674
Jaya Siṅgh	1674–1681
Kirat Siṅgh [1]	1681–1728
Amluk Siṅgh	1728–1771
Mihr Siṅgh, Sa'idmand Khān	1771–1786
Sujān Siṅgh	1786–1788
Ināyat Ullah Siṅgh	1788–1889
Tegh Siṅgh	1889–1820

Gulāb Siṅgh took possession of the State in 1820.

Bhadrawah

Nāg Pāl	
Bhakt Pāl	fl. 1625
Dhrub Pāl	fl. ca. 1670
Abhaya Pāl	ca. 1691–1707
Medinī Pāl	ca. 1707–1735
Sampat Pāl	ca. 1735–1770
Fateh Pāl	ca. 1770–1790
Daya Pāl	ca. 1790–1810
Pahār Cand	1810–1820

In 1821 the State was ruled as a feudatory province by Cambā officials. In 1846 it was transferred to Jamū and still belongs to Kaśmīr.

Pathāns in the Pañjāb

Aḥmad Shāh Durānī	1752–1769 (d. 1773)
Timūr Shāh	1769–1792
Shāh Zamān	1793–1799

[1] This rājā became a Musalmān; and one of his daughters married Farrukhsiyār, but retained her Hindū faith.

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3. Garhwāl

Tehri-Gaṛhwāl, a small state lying far within the Himālayan boundary and far to the east of Kāṅgṛā, supported a considerable school of painting in a style related to that of Kāṅgṛā, before and after the close of the eighteenth century. The names of a few of the painters are known.[1] At the close of the seventeenth century two Hindu painters from the Mughal court, viz. Śyām Dās and Hari Dās accompanied Sulaimān Shukoh to Gaṛhwāl. The work of the latter's great-grandson, Mola Rām (1760–1833), painter and poet, is fairly well known; in the present Catalogue, Nos. CLXX, CCCXXV, CCCXXXIV, CCCXXXVI, CCCL together with Nos. DCLXXXIV, DCLXXXV and some other floral designs have been attributed to him. Works by his colleagues Mānaku and Chaitu have also been published.[2] Mola Rām's grandson, Balak Rām Śāh, himself a painter of but small significance, has been the medium through which the Gaṛhwāl paintings and drawings first reached the outer world (Allahābād Exhibition of 1911). Most of the portraits obtained from this source are reserved for the Catalogue of Mughal paintings: some apparently date from the seventeenth century, others from the eighteenth and nineteenth. The following is a partial list of Gaṛhwālī rājās:

Pṛthvī Śāh Medini Śāh	seventeenth century
Jaikṛt Śāh Pradyuman Chand [Gurkhas 1804–1815] Sudarṣan Śāh	late eighteenth and early nineteenth century

4. Sikh

Rañjīt Siṅgh [3]	–1839	Sher Siṅgh [4]	1840–1843
Kharak Siṅgh.....	1840	Dalīp Siṅgh	1843–1846

It was under the tenth and last Guru, Govind Siṅgh (1675–1708) that the Sikhs were first organized as a military power. During the eighteenth

[1] C., *R. P.*, p. 23, note 2; Mukandi Lal, *Notes on Mola Ram*, Rūpam, 8, 1921.

[2] Mehta, N. C., *Two Pahari painters of Tehri-Garhwal: Mānaku and Chaitu*, Rūpam, 26, 1926.

[3] Portrait reproduced by S. N. Gupta, *The Sikh school of painting*, Rūpam, no. 12, 1922, pl. 1: No. DCXIX in this Catalogue.

[4] Portrait reproduced by S. N. Gupta, *loc. cit.*, pl. 11.

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century the Sikh chieftains were subject to Afghān domination on the one hand, and constantly at war with the Marāṭhās on the other. But in 1799 the Sikh chief Rañjīt Siṅgh took Lahore from Shāh Zamān (ca. 1792–1816), the last Afghān ruler of the Pañjāb, and assumed the title of Rājā; in 1802 he made himself master of Amritsar, and soon extended his power in the hills and even beyond the Satlaj. Rañjīt Siṅgh brought about the ruin of all the Hill States, one by one, and in 1809 all were subject to his suzerainty. He died in 1839, and the Sikh kingdom did not long survive its founder. By the treaty of Lahore, 1846, the British obtained the territory between the Satlaj and the Biās, including Kāṅgṛā and Jālandhar. Later, Kaśmīr was made over to Gulāb Siṅgh of Jamū.

The Sikh style covers approximately the period 1775–1850.[1] Like the Mughal, Sikh culture is one based on personal achievements, rather than on any great aristocratic tradition. The religion uses no images and has no mythology of its own. Quite naturally, therefore, the Sikh school is essentially one of portraiture of the Sikh gurus [2] and chiefs and courtiers singly or in darbar; its merits do not appear in the expression of feeling or religious devotion, but in the recording of keen observations of character, within the frame of a well-understood scheme of decorative composition. But while the Mughal portrait style was created from Indian, Persian, and European elements, that of the Sikhs is derived directly from the decorative, *mouvementé* art of the hills. It is not so much an original art, as one created by selection, that is to say by the omission of religious and emphasis upon personal motifs; and it owes its special appearance more to the fact of its representation of the Sikh type and costume than to any original aesthetic character. It is an extension and special development of a portrait scheme already well developed in the hills (cf. Nos. DXCVI, DCI, and Vogel, J. Ph., *Cat. Bhūri Siṅgh Museum*, pls. IV and V). It is evident that the Sikhs as they acquired social influence and gradually became masters of the Hill States, employed and imported Pahāṛī painters, whose descendants, indeed, still live and work in Amritsar (cf. Nos. DCXXXIII, DCXXXIV etc.), where, it may be remarked, there still survive a good number of wall paint-

[1] C., *R. P.*, p. 74, and pl. LXXVI; Gupta, S. N., *The Sikh School of painting*, Rūpam, 12, 1922; Goetz, H., *Indische Miniaturen der Sammlung William Rothenstein*, pp. 56, 57, and fig. 19; Sunga Prakash, *Indian Art*, Empire Magazine, London, Jan., 1912.

[2] None of these, *in Sikh style*, can be regarded as contemporary with the Gurus, of course.

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ings in the Sikh *gurdvāras*, forts, and private houses.[1] Sher Siṅgh continued the patronage of painters in his father's time. Von Ohrlich was present at a darbar of Sher Siṅgh at Lahore in 1842 and writes "on occasions of this kind it is customary for the Indian nobles to bring the artist attached to the court to take the portraits of those present. The painter of Sher Siṅgh was, therefore, incessantly occupied in sketching with a black lead pencil those likenesses which were afterwards to be copied in water colours, in order that they might adorn the walls of the royal palace; and some of them were admirably executed. I was among the honoured few, and the artist was very particular in making a faithful representation of my uniform and hat and feathers."[2] As remarked by Gupta (*loc. cit.*, p. 127), "The Kangra artists brought with them the traditions of their own indigenous school, but once they left the surroundings associated with their hereditary art they could not maintain their individuality for long. In the plains they came in contact with the growing influence of the Europeanised Delhi miniatures on paper and ivory. This seriously affected the work of the artists of the Sikh court, who instead of keeping to their own traditions produced a hybrid art."

Sikh costume to a large extent reflects the influence of the Afghāns, who from the time of Aḥmad Shāh Durāni to that of Shāh Zamān controlled the Pañjāb.[3]

[1] Gupta, S. N., *loc. cit.*, p. 127; Vogel, J. Ph., *Historical notes on the Lahore fort*, J. P. Hist. Soc., II, 1911, pp. 51–53.

[2] *Reise in Indien*, Leipzig, 1845. Gupta, S. N., *loc. cit.*, reproduces 'Sikh' portraits of William Moorcroft and Herbert Benjamin Edwards. Other Indian portraits of Europeans, not necessarily in Sikh style, include: James Tod (A. S. I., A. R., 1907–1908, p. 220); Gen. Perron and wife (B. M. Ms., Or. 375, Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss.*, p. 785); Col. James Skinner (B. M. Ms. Add. 27,254, Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss.*, p. 302); Richard Johnson, from B. M. Ms. Or. 6633. Some reproduced from the Johnson Albums (Arnold, T. W., *The Johnson Collection in the India Office Library*, Rūpam, 6, 1921); another in B. M. Ms. Add. 18803; some others in A. S. I., *Loan exhibition of antiquities, Coronation Durbar, 1911*, Calcutta, n. d. In this Catalogue, see No. DXIII (Lord Metcalfe).

[3] Goetz, *Kostüm und Mode*, pp. 95–100.

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RĀJPUT PAINTING: TECHNIQUE[1]

The most important facts to be observed here are that the vast majority of the extant works are paintings or drawings on paper, usually consisting of a sufficient number of attached sheets to have the consistency of thin cardboard, and that all of the work, apart from occasional charcoal transfers produced by tracing or pouncing, is done with a brush. There is no drawing with a pen and ink; but in some cases an original grey outline is present, with ill-defined edges, and this must have been made with a hard pencil like the *kiṭṭalekhanī* described by Śrī Kumāra.[2]

In the typical case, a first sketch of the subject is made with a brush in light red, — very rarely in yellow, — and over this is laid a white priming, which is made very smooth or even burnished. The underdrawing shows through this priming rather clearly. The subject is then redrawn, often with much modification, in brown or black. Next the background — sky, trees, architecture, etc. — is coloured, leaving the figures white. Finally the figures are coloured and given precision by a final outline, in red or black. Sometimes the coloured surface is thick enough to break away from the paper, leaving only the underdrawing, just as in the case of the Ajaṇṭā frescoes, where the technique is essentially the same. Sometimes the white priming is omitted altogether. The medium employed was probably a starch paste.[3] The artists prepared their own colours and made their own brushes. A representation of an artist at work will be found in No. CCCXLIV, Plate XCIX.

As might be expected from the above account, the same compositions frequently recur, reproduced in detail or in part. Methods of reproduction other than direct copying or copying from conscious or unconscious memory, included tracing on transparent paper or skin; if necessary, the tracing so made could be pasted down on stouter paper and developed into a fin-

[1] The technique of Mughal painting on paper, which is almost the same as, and largely derived from Indian sources, is well, and more fully, described by Percy Brown, *Indian painting under the Mughals*, ch. IX.

[2] See translation, Coomaraswamy, in Sir Ashutosh Mookerji Memorial Volume (in press); and cf. Brown, P., in *Indian painting under the Mughals*, 1924, p. 186.

[3] H. L. Fischer, *Indische Malerei*, Zeit. für bild. Kunst, N. F. I, 1890, states, as a result of chemical analysis, that the medium employed was 'Dextrin-gummi,' and that the same was used to saturate the paper and as a varnish.

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ished picture. In other cases reproduction by pouncing was resorted to, the outlines of the sketch or cartoon being pricked with innumerable fine holes; this was done in the case not only of the large cartoons for wall paintings, but also of quite small pictures, and, very commonly, of designs.

A great many works are found in an unfinished state. These in most cases represent "unpublished" notes and sketches belonging to the artists, and such collections were handed down in artist's families from father to son in pupillary succession. In case of a commission being given for a particular subject, these sketches would be resorted to, and used with more or less modification. Many of the most charming are in the stage of having the background, but not the figures, coloured. On many sketches where there is no colour the names of the colours to be employed in various parts of the picture are indicated in writing, see especially No. CCCCXLII (Plate CXI). It is possible that in some cases the design alone was prepared by the master, the colouring to be added by pupils or assistants. The following names of colours have been noted on various sketches in the Museum collections and elsewhere:

abarage (āb-ra-ṅg)	pale grey
asamanī	sky blue
badamī, bādāmī	almond pink
cādī, rūpā	silver
cerā, ceharā	light red (brick red)
dhumra	smoky
gaurī, gaur	light yellow, golden
gulābī	rose
kārī	black
khākī	buff
lāl, sindhur, saindhurī, surakhī, kīrm	reds
narainjī, norajī	orange
nīlā	blue
savaj, soj, sojā	green
sojā pīstakī	pistachio
sunā	gold
suped, supedā, saped, sapadā, dhole, dhaulī	white
vasantī, pīlī	yellows
sosanī	iris color (purple?)

The word *halkā* following the name of a colour indicates a lighter shade. Almost all these names occur on Kāṅgṛā sketches of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

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Except in the case of portraits, — and here one often meets with half a dozen sketches or studies of one and the same individual upon a single sheet of paper, — it is probable that the artists never drew from life or posed models (the late Pahāṛī Kāṅgṛā schools afford a partial exception to this statement). On this account they were all the more able to excel in the representations of movement, and the designing of crowded compositions. An analysis of the drawings will show that the drawing constituted a kind of language, rather than a formal imitation of particular things; there are certain formulæ employed for features, hands, drapery, water, and so forth, which the pupil acquired in the master's atelier precisely as words might be learned. What the pupil learned was how to draw a hand, an eye, a scarf, and so on; the actual use of these formulæ, however, abstract and generalized as they may be, often produces an effect of convincing reality. The drawings, in this sense, show a profound knowledge of gesture and of drapery. The face is most often represented in profile, sometimes in full or three-quarter view, or the head may be seen from behind; but intermediate positions are hardly ever met with.[1] Aerial perspective is rendered, in combination with "vertical projection," but the representation of lines converging to a vanishing point — in representations of architecture, for example — is not clearly understood. This deficiency of science, it need hardly be said, in no way detracts from the expressive value of the art.

[1] In old treatises on painting (*Viṣṇudharmottaram*, trans. S. Kramrisch, Calcutta, 1924, and *Śilparatna* of Śrī Kumāra, ch. 64, Trivandrum Sanskrit series, LXXV, 1922) five, nine, and thirteen stances (*sthānam*) are distinguished.

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COSTUME AND OTHER ACCESSORIES IN RĀJPUT PAINTING

THE costumes so clearly and lovingly delineated in Rājput paintings are not only of great intrinsic interest, but at the same time provide material which can be used in dating and localization.[1]

In the following pages are described the principal elements of the costumes represented in Rājput paintings, with historical notes.

MALE COSTUME:

Ornaments

(*a*) Pigments, pastes, and dyes:

Tīkā, spot between the brows.

Chāp, sectarian marks.

The finger and toe nails may also be dyed with henna on festival occasions.

(*b*) Jewelry (*ābharaṇa, bhuṣana*):

Sarpeś, sarpeñc, plume, of Mughal origin, often jewelled or enamelled, worn in the turban.

Mālā-band, a jewelled fillet worn on the turban. In certain of the Pahāṛī pictures Rājās are represented wearing fresh flowers in the turban.

Bālā, earrings of thin wire on which are threaded two pearls and a ruby. A smaller ring of the same kind is called *murkī*. Other earrings are called *dūr, birbalī*, etc.

Bhuj-band, armlet. *Kaṅkana*, bracelet.

Nupura, anklets.

Mukuṭa: the crown, generally five-pointed, worn by princes and deities in the Rājput paintings, as well as in Jaina miniatures. This crown is rather

[1] Dr. Hermann Goetz has studied the Rājput miniatures from this point of view and discusses the social relations of the Rājput and Mughal courts in *Studien zur Rajputen-Malerei*, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, X, 1922–1923, and *Indische Miniaturen in Münchner Völkerkunde Museum*, Müncher Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, XIII, Sept. 2, 1923. He gives a tabular classification of Mughal styles in *Die Hoftrachten des Grossmoghul-Reiches*, Ludwig-Maximilian's Universität, München, 1923. For the costume dating of early *Rāgmālās* see below, p. 71; except on this point, and for some questions of terminology, I am in general agreement with Dr. Goetz' published conclusions. Further material on costume and jewelry may be gleaned from Watson, J. F., *Textile manufacture and costumes of the people of India*, London, 1866, pp. 55–57, footnotes; Pratinidhi, Bh. Pandit, *The*

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a tiara or diadem (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*) than the high crown of the Ajaṇṭā paintings and mediaeval sculpture: the term *mukuṭa*, however, is used in the literature. The *mora-mukuṭa* is the peacock-crested crown worn by Kṛṣṇa.

Pagrī, pāga, pheṇṭā, paṭṭa, patka, sāfā: the turban (Persian *tharband*, classical Sanskrit *uṣṇīṣā*). The many varieties of turbans are characteristic of race, caste, period, and locality. Two main types are distinguished, as follows: the *pagrī*, narrow and very long (*e. g.*, about six inches by thirty yards), and the *sāfā*, broader and shorter (*e. g.*, about one yard by nine or eleven yards). The former is characteristic in almost all Rājput paintings of the seventeenth and eighteenth century: it often consists of two or more pieces twisted together or superposed. The term is frequently met with in eighteenth-century literature in connection with the Marāṭhās and the courts at Delhi and Oudh. A large loose *pagrī* may be called *dastar*. The *sāfā*, now much worn in the Pañjāb and Rājputāna is perhaps not more than a century old, and is probably of Afghān origin.

The use of turbans dates back to Vedic times, when the rājā was specially so distinguished; the turban is still an especially honorable garment. The head is covered on all occasions of ceremony; to remove the turban is unceremonious. Although the turban appears so constantly in Indian sculptures from the Śuṅga to the late Āndhra periods, it is not seen at Ajaṇṭā; here and in mediaeval sculptures deities and kings wear high elaborate crowns, persons of lower rank being bareheaded, or wearing a simple kerchief. Nor is any turban represented in Gujarātī (Jaina, etc.) paintings of the fifteenth century.[1] In Rājput paintings, however, turbans and crowns

lines to be followed in drawing the pictures for the Mahabharata edition, Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, III, 1, 1923: Baden-Powell, *Panjab Products*, Vol. II, Lahore, 1872; Mukharji, T. N., *Art Manufactures of India*, Calcutta, 1888; Watt, Sir G., *Indian Art at Delhi*, London, 1904; Hendley, T. H., *Indian Jewelry*, Journal of Indian Art, Vol. XII, London, 1909, especially the Introduction, and pp. 17–19, and 44 (the last referring to Central Asian influences). For more ancient costumes the student must reach the actual monuments; the material is abundant, and a systematic work on the subject, with references to the literature, and to the costumes of Persia and Central Asia, is urgently needed.

[1] A single exception appears in a leaf (in my possession) belonging to the same Ms. (A.D. 1461) as No. 5 of the M. F. A. *Catalogue of Jaina paintings and manuscripts*. The personage represented is the Śaka '*Shāhān Shāhi*.' The turban is of a form similar to one often seen in Persian paintings of about 1500, the material being wound over a pointed cap. The Gujarātī painter may well have seen Persians wearing a turban of this kind, and may have deliberately represented this un-Indian form as appropriate to a Śaka king; the illustration has little bearing on the history of the turban in India proper.

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are worn almost indifferently, both forms occurring in series of paintings by the same hand. That some pre-Mughal change of fashion had taken place is indicated in a passage of one of the Mahārāṣṭrī tales translated by Jacobi — "From that time on, kings were invested with the turban; before this they were invested with the diadem." [1] Turbans are worn by women only under exceptional circumstances. The Rājput *pagrī* appears to have been adopted at the Mughal court already in the time of Akbar, and remains the typical head-dress of both Musalmāns and Hindūs as represented in the paintings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the form is unsymmetrical, sloping backwards, and bound by a transverse band of different material. A jewelled *mālā-band* may be tied round the turban horizontally, and a plume (*sarpeś*, *sarpeñc*) often richly jewelled or enamelled, may be worn in the turban itself.

Topī: various forms of cap, some conical and bound with a fillet (cowherds), others with earflaps (Brāhmaṇs), are represented in Kāṅgṛā paintings.

Dhotī: the classical *dhautī*, already usual at Bhārhut and Sāñcī. This is the lower body garment, forming with the scarf the essential part of classical Hindū costume as surviving from the earliest representations to the present day. The *dhotī* measures about one yard by five; it is passed round the body and tucked in at the waist, one end hanging loose, the remainder closely folded and tucked in at the waist whence it hangs in close pleats, while the first end left free is passed between the legs and tucked in at the back. Details vary with the locality and tribe or caste. The *pītāmbara*, 'yellow garment,' is especially characteristic of Kṛṣṇa. The *laṅgoṭi* is a kind of very narrow short *dhotī* worn in the same way and constituting the minimum of clothing. It is worn under the *dhotī;* or alone, when working hard or bathing, or by the poorer classes and by ascetics. In Rājput paintings it is often worn by the *gopas*, where the typical costume consists of cap, and breeches, or *laṅgoṭi* and *dupaṭṭa*.

Dupaṭṭa: identical in form and usage with the classical *uttarīya*, seen at Bhārhut, still so-named in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and still in use. It is long and relatively narrow; hanging over the left shoulder, it is passed round

[1] Hertel, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāṣṭrī*, Leipzig, 1908 (from Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*); trans. in English by Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, 1909, p. iii. Hemacandra's work must have been composed between 1159 and 1173 A.D.

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the back, under the right arm, and falls again over the left shoulder, so that one end hangs in front of, and one behind the body, on the left. A wider cloth is called *cādar*. Shawls (*śāla* or *dośāla*) of wool (Kaśmīr shawls) are worn by men in the winter. Any form of scarf or shawl may be worn either with *dhotī* or *aṅgarakha*, and may be bound round the waist when actively employed. The term *śāla* is sometimes applied to a scarf which is either bound round the waist or worn as a turban.

Jāma': (called *takauchiyah* by Abu'l Faẓl, *sarb gātī* by Akbar himself): this court dress is a kind of frock coat with a full skirt. It is fastened at the side at the shoulder and just above the waist, on the left when worn by Hindūs, on the right when worn by Musalmāns, though occasional exceptions occur.[1] The skirt is open, and at first rarely extends below the knee, becoming gradually longer, and as worn by the Rājputs in the early nineteenth century, reaching the ground (Nos. CCCCLXIII, CCCLXVII, etc.). The *jāma'* was evidently, in the sixteenth century, regarded as an Indian, not as a Persian garment. As Goetz (*Kostüm und Mode* . . . p. 79) remarks, "In Akbar's time the Rājputs were *still wearing* the Muḥammadan *jāma'* fastening on the left shoulder, which had gone out of fashion amongst the latter ever since the time of the earliest Mongol invasions." The Mughals appear to have readopted it from the Rājputs at the same time that they took over the female *colī*, skirt, and *saṛī*, etc. Abu'l Faẓl makes this clear when he says, "The *takauchiyah* is a coat without lining, *of the Indian form*. Formerly it had slits in the skirt, and was tied on the left side; his Majesty has ordered it to be made with a round skirt, and to be tied on the right side" (*'Aīn-i-Akbarī*, Blochmann's trans., 1.88). The slits in the skirt of the *jāma'* or *takauchiyah* may refer to actual slits, or to the four-pointed prolongations of the skirt, two on each side, which constituted a fashion prevalent at the Mughal court in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. This form appears, almost to the exclusion of any other in the *Hamza Nāmah* illustrations, ca. 1570; in the *Rasikapriyā* MS. (ca. 1600) and in a Gujarātī MS. of the *Kumārasambhava*[2] of about

[1] On Rhages pottery and in Mesopotamian paintings of the thirteenth century it fastens on the left. Rājā Sangrām, a Hindū, is represented with the *jāma'* fastening on the right in the Mughal painting, ca. 1605, reproduced in S. C. Clarke, *Indian Drawings . . . Wantage Bequert*, pl. 7.

[2] Incomplete, but presumably the work of Rājaśekhara, a Jaina author of the fourteenth century.

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the same date, in my possession, it appears side by side with the plain form. The latter alone appears in Rājput paintings, with the possible exception of No. XXIX in this Catalogue; and in older Gujarātī (Jaina) MSS of the fifteenth century.[1] Thus, while the pointed skirt gives some clue to date, I am inclined to believe, inasmuch as the fashion never involved the complete abandonment of the plain form, that works in which it does not appear are not necessarily late.

The *jāma'* belongs to the side-fastening frock-coat type of garment of which the natural home is in Central Asia and China, and must have been brought thence to India at some time. From what has been said above, it will be seen that this time must have antedated the Mughal period, when it was regarded as an 'Indian form.' Thus, although constantly represented in the earliest Rājput paintings,[2] and worn alternatively with the *dhotī*, even, though somewhat unsuitably, in the case of representations of Kṛṣṇa, it need not there be regarded as in itself any evidence of Mughal influence. At the present day, the *jāma'* is still worn by old-fashioned Brāhmaṇs in the hills; and by Hindū bridegrooms as a wedding costume, in the latter case not without protest on the part of those who regard the costume as of Mughal origin and in some sense a relic of Muḥammadan rule, others arguing that it dates back to the epic period. So far as I know the *jāma'* cannot be traced in the mediaeval or Gupta periods. But it appears unmistakably in the Kuṣāna art of Mathurā; here I refer, not to the *qabā*- or *coga*-like coats of the portrait statues and coins of Kuṣāna kings in which there is a median opening, but to reliefs such as B 47 in the Lucknow Museum, and others in the Mathurā Museum (Pl. CXXXI), representing donors, in other words Indians of ordinary rank, as wearing a frock coat fastening on the left, and not to be distinguished from the Rājput *jāma'*, nor from the Mughal *jāma'* except in the position of the fastening. It seems by no means unlikely that the *jāma'* was first brought into India by the Scythians or Kuṣānas and remained in use, to some extent at least, ever since, particularly amongst the Rājputs, many of whom were themselves of Central Asian origin. The coat of the same type, but fastening on the

[1] Only in representations of the Śaka king Gardhabhilla, but fastening on the left: *Catalogue Indian Collections*, IV, p. 36 and pl. 6, no. 2.

[2] Also in the rare fragments of contemporary sculpture, as illustrated in Pl. CXXXI.

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right, worn by the Bhutanese, is more likely of direct Mongolian than of any old Indian or Mughal origin.

From these data, while it appears certain that the *jāma'* was known in India before the Mughal period, it cannot be determined how far it had been in general use by Hindūs properly so-called; it is by no means impossible that its very general adoption by Rājputs as an official costume, about 1600, must be ascribed to Mughal influence.

The art and usage of the *jāma'* vary with passing fashion. As we have remarked, from about 1575–1614, the four-pointed skirt and plain skirt were in simultaneous use; then the skirt is always plain, but extends only a little below the knee; finally it almost touches the ground.

Capkan: a coat, usually of moderate length, fastening on the left side at neck and waist. It would be double-breasted, but the outer layer is cut out in a sweeping curve extending from neck to waist. It is close-fitting over the chest, but the skirt is open and moderately full. It is now commonly worn by Rājputs, also by Nawābs (Musalmān aristocracy) and the old-fashioned gentry as a formal dress in the United Provinces. It is not uncommonly represented in Rājput portraits of persons belonging to the middle classes.

Aṅgarkha, anarkha: literally 'body-protection,' a name applicable specifically to a shorter and less elegant *capkan* as worn by Rājput peasants; and more generally to any coat of either *capkan* or *acakan* type. Also called *kamrī*.

Acakan (etymological equivalents Sanskrit *añcaka*, Prākṛt *kañcuka*, synonym in Ūrdū *śirvāni*): a long coat tight-fitting over the chest, but with a moderately full skirt; opening down the centre, with numerous (usually five) fastenings between the neck and waist; the skirt has an extension or flap (*bālābar*) which may be worn either inside or outside. Mainly worn by Muḥammadans, nowadays also by Hindūs in the United Provinces as semi-formal costume. The form is evidently of Persian origin and does not antedate the Mughal period.

Qabā, 'abā: an overgarment, or cloak, used for warmth, as a Muḥammadan court garment, fastening in the middle at the waist only. Practically identical with the Kāśmīrī and modern *coga*, worn by Hindūs and Muḥammadans. Evidently of Persian origin in the Mughal period. The

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coga proper is sometimes represented in Sikh portraits and is now commonly worn by Pañjābīs and Kāśmīrīs.

Kach: short, tight breeches worn by young men, especially by the cowherds in many Pahāṛī paintings.

Paijāma, ijyāra: trousers, worn by men or women, of varying cut. The typical form is tight and wrinkled below the knee, and too long for the leg; the consequent wrinkling has given rise to the common designation *curidār,* 'like bangles,' applied in the same way to wrinkled sleeves. Some use of trousers in India may date from the Kuṣāna period, but in the Mughal-Rājput period and in modern usage they are commonly regarded as of Muḥammadan origin.

Kamarband, patukā: sash, bound round the waist, with hanging ends, worn over *dhotī* or *aṅgarkha.* Various types of *dupaṭṭā* may be worn optionally as head-dress or girdle.

FEMALE COSTUME

(*a*) Pigments, dyes, and pastes:

Mãga: vermilion mark on the parting of the hair, used only subsequent to marriage and discarded in widowhood.

Tīkā, tilaka: spot of vermilion, or sandal paste, between the brows.

Chāp: sectarian marks, made with sandal paste (*candana*).

Mahavāra, lākṣa: red dye (cochineal) applied to the palms of the hands and soles of the feet.

Añjana: collyrium used for the eyes.

Mihaṁda: the finger and toe nails are dyed with henna but are so represented in Rājput paintings only from the mid-seventeenth century onward. Tattoo marks, although in common use,[1] are not represented in the paintings.

(*b*) Jewelry (*ābharaṇa, bhuṣaṇa*):

Coṅk: hemispherical or conical wrought metal ornament worn on the top of the head in parts of the Pañjāb.

Sir-mãga: pearl thread worn in the parting of the hair.

Dheṛhī or *tīkā:* forehead pendant (may form part of the *sir-mãga*).

[1] Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut,* London, 1879, pl. LII; Luard, C. E., *Tattooing in Central India,* Indian Antiquary, XXIII, 1904.

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Śīśa-phūl, śīśa-maṇi, sūraj, jewels worn on the hair.

Sinthī?, a tripartite flexible ornament covering the parting of the hair, and the edge of the hair along the brow as far as the ear on both sides.

Natha, besara, besarī, nose rings, the former piercing the nostril, the latter the cartilage of the nose. The *natha* may have a leaf-shaped gold pendant, *latakana,* to which small *juganu* may be added.

Bena, forehead ornament; *cand-bena,* a crescent-shaped pendant worn on the forehead or hair; *juganu,* generic term for a pendant of any kind.

Karn-phūl, ear-flower, earring, the large round kind. Many other earrings are in use; e. g., a kind with a bell-shaped pendant (*jhumkā*); and the series of small rings (*bali* or *baliā*) worn on the upper part of the ear. Other forms include *ḍhẽṛhī, ḍẽḍi, chaṛā* (with pearls), etc.

Mālā, hāra, many varieties of necklace, each having its own name, e. g., *candrahāra, pañcalaṛī.*

Dhukadhukī, necklace hanging low on the breast.

Bhuja-band, armlet.

Kaṅkana, bracelet; *curī,* glass bangle; *kaṛa, naṅgari,* etc.

Kiṅkini, girdle of bells.

Mudrā, mundarī, finger rings.

Hāth-phūl, ornament covering the back of the hand, and attached to finger rings.

Challā, toe rings; *anavaṭa* or *aṅguthā,* great-toe ring, sometimes with a mirror; *bichuā,* toe ring with a bell.

Nupura, jehara, tehara, anklets. The use of gold anklets is in accordance with Rājput practice. Elsewhere in India, gold ornaments are not worn below the waist.

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Costume Proper

Sāṛī: the Sanskrit *sāṭī, sāṭikā.* The typical Hindū woman's costume; a piece of material at least one yard in width and eight in length. The *sāṛī* alone is worn at home or when visiting the temple, and in this case forms a garment complete in itself; otherwise, as commonly represented in Rājput paintings of all periods, over skirt and *colī.* The lower part is arranged like a *dhotī* so far as the close folds hanging down in front are concerned; but when the skirt is worn, the free end cannot be passed between the legs, so that the lower part of the *sāṛī* forms an overskirt with a gathering of narrow vertical folds in front. When, as is generally the case, both in the paintings and in modern usage, the *sāṛī* is of thin transparent muslin, this 'overskirt' is almost invisible except where the thickness of the folds makes its colors evident. The rest of the *sāṛī* is passed under the left arm, over the head, forming a veil or wimple (*aṅcala, āṅcala, aṅcarā*), and then hangs down over the right shoulder. In case no *colī* is worn, the end of the *sāṛī* may be drawn across the breast from right to left and tucked into the skirt-band (*nibibandha*) on the left.

The word *selī* is rarely used, but the term *selāṅcala* occurs in the sense of *aṅcala* as above described. The word *aṅcala* is also applicable to a *dupaṭṭa,* which serves the same purpose as the upper part of the *sāṛī.*

The oldest representation of a *sāṛī* worn in modern fashion to which I can refer appears on a Gupta architrave from Garhwā.[1]

Dupaṭṭa (*aṅcala, oṛhnī,* etc., the classical *uttārīya*). A scarf or long narrow shawl, generally of decorated, more or less transparent, muslin. Worn over the breast and head as a veil, partly or completely concealing the face. *Khes* is a larger and more richly decorated heavy silk *dupaṭṭa,* formerly made in the Pañjāb. The *cādar* ("chudder") is usually a larger, often square 'sheet' worn over the head and upper part of the body; in some cases the *cādar* is woolen and worn for warmth (No. CCCCXXXV). The embroidered, usually approximately square, *phulkārī* is a kind of heavy cotton *cādar* or *oṛhnī* worn by the Pañjāb Jāts. *Śāla* ('shawl'), and *dośāla* are likewise often of wool and worn for warmth; the well-known Kāśmīr shawls are the characteristic type (most of the single square forms being made for European usage).

[1] Burgess, *Ancient Monuments,* p. 242, lower right.

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The terms *dupaṭṭa* and *oṛhnī* are applicable to practically all examples seen in Rājput paintings. The *dupaṭṭa* is worn with skirt and *colī*, over the *jagulī*, in which case it is often of the same colour and material, or over the *peśvāj*. With a *sārī*, the *dupaṭṭa* is of course unnecessary, as the end of the *sārī* itself serves the purpose of the *aṅcala*.

Colī and *aṅgiyā*. The tight-fitting, shaped bodice, covering the breasts, having very short sleeves and fastened by strings at the back; the *colī* and *aṅgiyā* are similar in front view, but the former leaves the back bare, the latter covers it. As far as can be made out the garment usually represented in the Rājput paintings is the *colī* and this form is the most usual in modern usage. The term used in Sanskrit and classical Hindī literature is usually *kuñcakī*, *kañcuka*, or *kañcu*. A bodice is clearly recognizable on a Mathurā Kuṣāna railing pillar.[1] It appears at Ajaṇṭā,[2] where it is of plain or flowered material, extends well below the breasts, fastens at the back but does not leave the back exposed, and has short tight sleeves. At Ajaṇṭā and in early mediaeval sculpture (Māmallapuram) we also find the breast-band (*sthanāvarana*, *sthanottarīya*), which is something like the modern Javanese *slendang*, but tighter and narrower. Both bodice and breast-band occur sparingly in the Ajaṇṭā paintings; they are worn only by women of inferior rank, women of higher position being invariably nude to the waist, except for jewelry (in parts of Rājputāna at the present day the *colī* is worn only by dancing girls). Both bodice and breast-band are unmistakably depicted in the fifth-century paintings of Sīgiriya in Ceylon.[3] The Bengālī and Naipālī miniatures [4] and Burmese frescoes [5] of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and Gujarātī miniatures [6] of the fifteenth century, and

[1] Kramrisch, S., *Grundzüge der indischen Kunst*, pl. 19 (A 84 Lucknow Museum). The bodice is elaborately decorated and has long sleeves extending to the wrist.

[2] Griffiths, J., *The paintings in the Buddhist cave temples of Ajunta*, London, 1896–1897, 1, pls. 18, 30, 67. A short tight tunic of corresponding form is worn by men of inferior rank, particularly soldiers, *loc. cit.*, pls. 71, 72. A peculiar garment without sleeves, but extending in front to far below the waist is worn by dancing girls, *loc. cit.*, pl. 30, and this appears to be a bodice with a loose extension covering the stomach: this is also well seen in some of the Deogaṛh reliefs.

[3] Bell, H. C. P., in A. S. C., A. R., for 1905.

[4] Foucher, A., *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, 1., pl. IX, fig. 6; Vredenberg, E., *Continuity of pictorial tradition in the art of India*, Rūpam, nos. 1 and 2, Calcutta, 1920; Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Portfolio of Indian Art*, Boston, 1923, pls. 33–35.

[5] Duroiselle, Ch., in A. S. I., A. R., 1915–1916, p. 87, and pl. LI. The bodice extends below the breasts, but not very far below.

[6] Hüttemann, W., *Miniaturen zum Jinacarita*, Baessler Archiv IV, Leipzig, 1914; Coomara-

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the Bīrbhūm [1] miniatures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries all show the *colī* in general use. An elaborate *kañcukī* is seen on the well-known figure of Durgā, from the thirteenth-century temple at Singasāri, Java.[2] The bodice is mentioned incidentally in classical and mediaeval Sanskrit texts such as the *Brahmāṇḍa* [3] and *Bhāgavatā Purāṇas*, Bāṇas's *Harṣacarita*, and the *Kathāsaritsāgara;* and by Vidyāpati, Muhammad Jaisī and other classical Hindī writers. It plays an important part in Rājput chivalric customs. The *colī* is thus, although a tailored garment, evidently by many centuries pre-Muḥammadan. In view of the numerous representations and references dating from the Gupta period it seems unnecessary to suppose that it originated only in connection with a special usage of the Durgā cult in Kaśmīr, as suggested by Goetz.[4] In modern India the *colī* is in general use in Southern (Tamil) India, but not in Malabar.

In Mughal painting of the late sixteenth century the *colī* forms a constant part of the court ladies' costume of Rājput type, extending some distance below the breasts. In even the earliest Rājput paintings it is distinctly shorter, and in later examples is greatly abbreviated. In actual usage at the present day a small segment of the under side of the breast is very often visible.

Kurtī. A shirt-like garment, falling a little below the waist, with full or half sleeves, a moderate central or lateral opening at the neck, and two fastenings. The Pañjābī form, open all the way down, is probably a recent development, both *kurtā* and *kurtī* being essentially chemise or vest-like garments put on over the head. The woman's *kurtī* is perhaps descended

swamy, A. K., *Notes on Jaina art*, Journal of Indian art, no. 127, London, 1914; *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the M. F. A.*, Pt. 4, *Jaina paintings and manuscripts*, Boston, 1924; see also fig. A on Plate CXXX in this Catalogue. Mehta, N. C., *Indian painting in the fifteenth century*, Rūpam, nos. 22–23, 1925.

[1] Sen, Dinesch Chandra, *History of Bengali language and literature*, Calcutta, 1911; *Banga Sahitya Parichaya, Typical selections from Bengali literature*, Calcutta, 1914, pls. VI, VIII, XIII; Goetz, H., *Kostüm und Mode . . .*, Jahrb. as. Kunst, 1924, fig. 1.

[2] Ars Asiatica, VIII, pl. XXVI.

[3] *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, ch. 21, vv. 21–23. Kurukullā is described as wearing a dark bodice (*śyāma-kañcuka*), the text being quoted by Shastri, H., *Origin and cult of Tārā*, Mem. A. S. I., 20, 1925. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* is probably not later than the fifth century.

[4] Goetz, H., *Die Tscholi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der indischen Frauentracht.* Zeit. für hist. Waffen und Kostümkunde, Berlin, 1924.

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from the long loose tunic represented in Śuṅga terra-cottas[1] and some Gandhāra sculptures. It appears in Pahāṛī paintings only in one or two examples of nineteenth-century date. The *kurtī* is usually worn with a skirt and *dupaṭṭa*, and is characteristically a Pañjābī garment; No. CCCXCVI (M. F. A. 17.2566) is one of very few examples found in Rājput paintings.

Ghagarā, lāhṅgā, dāman. The skirt, usually gathered at the waist and more or less full; in some cases (Māṛwār) consisting of as much as twenty-five yards of material. Richly embroidered types are found in Kāṭhiāwāṛ. No kind of skirt is represented in Ajaṇṭā paintings, but a railing pillar from Mathurā of Kuṣāna date (B 86 in the Lucknow Museum) represents a *gopī* wearing an unmistakable *sārong*, overfolded from the waist to form a partly double skirt. The *sārong*, however, as now worn in the East seems to be a garment of Malay origin; it is never seen in Rājput paintings, nor is it really analogous to the Rājput skirt, which is gathered onto a regular waist-band (*nībibandha*), through which a braid is passed, and tied in front or at the side. More probably a true skirt is the decorated garment represented on another Kuṣāna railing pillar, A 84 in the Lucknow Museum, Kramrisch, *Grundzüge der indischen Kunst*, pl. 19. An unmistakable skirt is represented in the Bikanīr terra-cotta mentioned below. In the Jamū (Nos. LXXII etc., CCXXV, CCCIX) and other early types represented in the Rājput paintings (No. CCXIV), and also on the Bengālī book covers, the skirt is usually decorated with horizontal stripes or a border; the later types are more often vertically striped or flowered. A form with a short flounce or frill attached to the waistband is exceptional (No. CCLII), but also appears in sculpture of about 1600 A.D. (fig. c on Pl. CXXXI); also in the much older, late Kuṣāna or early Gupta *Dāna Līlā* scene represented in a Bikanīr terra-cotta.[2] The skirt is typically worn with *colī* and *sārī* or *dupaṭṭa*. In the case of the *jagulī* and *peśvāj* no separate skirt is required. In some cases a skirt is worn over trousers.

Jaṅgulī or *jagulī*. A complete dress combining bodice and skirt. This is the very characteristic late Kāṅgṛā high-waisted 'Empire gown,' fastening at the neck and waist, and open between the fastenings; the sleeves are long, tight, and wrinkled (*curīdārī*) with elegantly turned cuffs; the skirt is

[1] *E. g.*, A. S. I., A. R., 1917–1918, pt. 1, pl. XIII, 7; and M. F. A., 25.448.
[2] A. S. I., A. R., 1917–1918, pt. 1, pl. XIII, 3.

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long and moderately full, and open down the front, so that the *païjāmas* are seen whenever its panels are displaced in movement. This garment is worn only by women and children; by adults at the present day only in the remoter hills. It is worn over *païjāmas* (never over a skirt), usually without a *colī*, and always with a *dupaṭṭa*.

What seems to be an earlier form of the same garment appears occasionally in Mughal paintings of the time of Shāh Jahān and in Pahāṛī paintings of the Jamū school datable in the seventeenth century, which examples appear in No. CCCIV, etc. of this Catalogue (M. F. A. 17.2783) and in the Munich Völkerkunde Museum (13.92.13).[1] Here there is a considerable décolletage, bordered with jabots in the form of a bertha, or with bands of gold or silver lace, and there is only one fastening, just above the waist. This earlier *jaṅguli* is generally of very thin transparent muslin, plain or flowered; the later Kāṅgṛā form is often opaque. Baden-Powell [2] quotes the term *doru* as applicable to the Kāṅgṛā woman's gown 'which covers the whole body, fitting close under the neck'; this is presumably a synonym for *jagulī*. The garment is probably of Turkī origin; worn by the Ḍogrā Rājputnīs in the seventeenth century, it may have been borrowed from the Mughal zenanas of the time of the Lahore capital and close relations between the Mughal and Pahāṛī Rājput courts.

Peśvāj: this garment is related to the *jaṅgulī* inasmuch as it constitutes a whole dress combining bodice and skirt. It was worn originally, as remarked by Watson, by Musalmān brides, and on festival occasions, and later by Musalmān dancing girls and by Hindū women who dance in the same manner, and is still used by the latter. The material is usually very richly decorated. The décolletage is sufficient to show the necklaces; over the breast and stomach the bodice is highly fastened by means of loops on the inside, and below this is a skirt like that of the *jagulī*. I do not know of any unmistakable representation of the *peśvāj* in Rājput painting. The term *peśvāj* applies also to a light-fitting tunic worn by Muḥammadan men (Ā'in-ī-Akbarī, 1, 89: cf. Goetz, *Kostüm und Mode*, . . . p. 73, and Kühnel and Goetz, *Indische Buchmalerei*, p. 31).

Paijāma, ijyāra, śālvar: trousers adopted by Hindū women evidently

[1] Goetz, H., *Indische Miniaturen im münchener Völkerkunde Museum*, Münchner Jahrb. der Völkerkunde, XIII, 1923, fig. 4.

[2] *Panjab manufacture*, vol. 11, p. 107.

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under Mughal influence, and worn under the *jagulī*, as represented in the Kāṅgṛā paintings of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the gaily coloured trousers showing through the transparent gown.

Summary of the Changes Traceable in Costumes Represented in Gujarātī and Rājput Painting from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century

Jaina miniatures: male costume. Royalties and deities or saints in glory wear diadem, *dhotī*, and *dupaṭṭa*, and large round earrings (*karn-phul* type); no *kamarband*. The Śāka king, however, is represented in a costume more of Mughal character — crown or helmet, *jāma'* buttoning to the left; or chain armor, trousers, and boots. Some soldiers of the Śāka army appear to wear *jāma'* buttoning to the right, combined with chain armor. Brāhmans and all other males with the exception of royalties are represented as bareheaded. No turban is anywhere to be found. Queens wear the tiara (or more informally are bareheaded), *dhotī*, *colī*, and *dupaṭṭā; karn-phul*, and other jewelry. The costume of female attendants is similar, without the crown.

Rājput, early group contemporary with Akbar and Jahāngīr: male costume. Hindū gold *mukuṭa;* round turban, or Dakhanī turban, with or without *sarpeś*. The crown and both types of turban occur in the *Rasikapriyā* MS. and in the early *Rāgmālās*. *Dhotī* and *dupaṭṭā;* or *jāma'* and *paijāma*, with either headdress. In the reign of Akbar the *jāma'* has usually, but by no means invariably, two points projecting downwards on each side; subsequently it is of even length all round. Both forms occur in the *Rasikapriyā* MS. which is not in pure Rājput style (M.F.A.) and in a MS. (Gujarātī) of the *Kumārasambhava* of about the same date, the latter in my possession; the plainer form, associated with mutton-chop whiskers and shading on the armpits, is characteristic of the early *Rāgmālās*. With the possible exception of No. XXXIX, I know of no example of the four-pointed skirt in pure Rājput painting and for this reason I think that its absence affords no evidence of late date. Around the waist, over the *dhotī* or *angarkhā* is worn a stiff decorated (*jarakasī*) sash (*kamar-*

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band). Sword and dagger (*katāra*) are worn. Shadow is indicated on the armpits roughly by means of a circular area of dots, contrasting with the realistic indications of Mughal pictures. There is usually no beard, but a cropped mutton-chop whisker and small moustache are worn; instead of the latter there is often seen the Hindū ringlet or scorpion lock falling in front of the ear. Rāma is sometimes represented in armor, with helmet and *kamarband*. The feet are bare in most cases. Black tassels occasionally form a part of the male costume. It is important to observe that the purely Hindū and the Mughal type costumes occur side by side in the same groups of paintings and were in use together, just as purely Hindū and late Mughal or European forms are seen at the present day and may be worn by the same individual on different occasions.

Female costume: consists typically of transparent *sāṛī* worn over skirt and bodice; with large black tassels (pompoms) attached to bracelets and armlets and at the waist. *Sir-mãg, sīs-phul, karn-phul, natha;* and other jewelry of usual type.

Architecture: of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century type suggesting Bundelkhaṇḍ rather than Rājputana, with roof pavilions recalling Akbar's tomb, and the Pañc Maḥall at Faṭhpur Sīkrī. Trees formal and decorative, generally associated with sprays of some flowering creeper. Black tassels often attached to cushions. Beds and seats often with very thin black legs.

Rājput, middle and latter part of seventeenth century: male costume. The turban sloping farther back and sometimes overhanging at the back; often with a jewelled fillet (*mālāband*). The transverse ribbon rather broader and tighter. The *jāma'* is longer and less often transparent, the trousers more often striped. The mutton-chop whisker goes out of fashion, but moustaches are larger and a pointed beard is very usual.

Female costume: no black tassels (pompoms), or very small and inconspicuous. The materials richer. Trousers begin to be worn, and also the *jāgulī*, at first only by dancing girls, and in any case exceptional. Earrings now usually with a pendant. Heelless slippers are sometimes worn.

Architecture, etc.: more delicate, with greater use of white marble. The *hukka* bowl characteristically globular (smoking is not seen at all in Rājput

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paintings before the time of Shāh Jahān, though usual at the Mughal court considerably earlier). Bidrī ware is often seen.

Rājput, eighteenth century: male costume: no marked change, but the *jāma'* is much longer and plainer, without jabots; and it is more generally used. The crown is not often found, except on deities. Occasionally the influence of the Oudh court can be recognized in the form of the crown. The turban projects at the back, and the cross band is tighter and wider. Large flowing moustaches and cropped beards are characteristic.

Female costume: the former costume persists, but the *jagulī* trousers and *dupaṭṭā* predominate in aristocratic circles, and especially in Kāṅgṛā. Trousers are often worn under the skirt, which is larger and fuller. Earrings with pendant (*jhumkā*); or in some cases, with pearl tassels like those worn at the late Mughal court in Oudh.

Architecture: the *jharokhā* with curved eaves is highly characteristic. We find also small towers like minarets. The *hukka* bowl is bell-shaped, of bidrī ware or Lucknow enamel. Formal gardens are often represented. The landscape is much more realistically treated.

Rājput, nineteenth century: Pure Rājput costumes are little changed. The double-breasted man's coat (*capkan*) fastening on both sides is often seen in Rājasthān. The forms of the turban are very varied. The influence of styles prevailing at the late Mughal court in Oudh can sometimes be recognized. In the Sikh school of the Pañjāb, Afghān influence is felt; large turbans and long pointed beards are characteristic, and long tight trousers are worn under a coat (*coga*) with much shorter skirts; a large shawl is more usual than the narrow *dupaṭṭā*.

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ANCIENT MOTIFS IN RĀJPUT PAINTING

It is interesting to recognize in Rājput paintings a great variety of motifs, compositions, and formulae that occur commonly in much older Indian works or correspond to the phraseology of classical rhetoric. Some of the more striking of these survivals include:

I. Compositions or formulas actually met with in older works:

Rāmāyaṇa: the closest parallel is presented in the case of the episode in which Rāma is represented as lying transfixed by innumerable arrows, discharged by the Rākśasas from above the clouds (No. XXVIII in this Catalogue). This composition, with the surrounding bears and monkeys, is essentially the same as that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* relief on a column of the Virupākśa temple at Badāmī (eighth century A.D.).

Kṛṣṇa-govardhanadhara and *Dāna Līlā:* both of these are found amongst the Bikanīr terra-cottas from Suratgaṛh, which are probably early Gupta (A. S. I., A. R., 1917–1918, pl. I, p. 22 and pl. XIII, 1, 3), the former also at Mathurā (D 47 in the Mathurā Museum) and with the *Kāliya-damana,* etc., at Maṇḍor (Bhandarkar, D. R. in A. S. I., A. R., 1905–1906, pp. 135 ff.).

Gajendra-mokṣa: at Deogaṛh, Varāha temple (A. S. I., A. R., 1917–1918, pl. I, b and p. 7) and in the wall of the Gupta temple (Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 252). The former mediaeval, the latter of Gupta date. Cf. C., *R. P.*, Plate XVI, which I now believe to be of Nepalese origin under Rājput influence.

The water creature by which the elephant is seized is very variously represented in Rājput paintings — sometimes as a crocodile, sometimes as a sort of octopus, sometimes as a loathly worm. This variation suggests that the whole motif may ultimately be derived from or parallel to the *Nāga Jātaka,* of which there is an illustration at Bhārhut (Cunningham, *The stūpa of Bharhut,* p. 52 and pl. XXV, 2), where the elephant is seized by a crab.

Gaja-Lakṣmī: this subject, which goes back to the Fortune or Māyā-Devī type of Bhārhut, Sāñcī, and Oṛissā, occurs too often in early examples to need specific references.

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Cātakas drinking rain drops: for an early central Asian example doubtless of Indian origin, see remarks on Nos. CLVIII, CCCXCIVB.

Pictures overlapping the frame: this peculiarity, common in paintings of the Jamū school (Nos. LXXII, CCI, CCVI, CCCXLIX, etc.) is found in various early sculptures, *e. g.*, basement of the Nandimaṇḍapa, Kailāsa temple, Elūrā (Burgess, J., *Report on the Elura cave temples*, A. S. W. I, VI, London, 1883, pl. XXXI, 3), and Amarāvatī, several examples (Burgess, J., *Buddhist stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, London, 1887, pl. XXI).

Continuous narration: common at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, and Amarāvatī. A western origin has been suggested for this method (A. della Setta, *La Genesi dello Scorcio nell' arte greca*, Rome, 1907): but it is curious that it is only very rarely employed in Gandhāra. It is commonly found in Kāṅgṛā paintings, especially the *Nala-Damayantī* and *Hamīr Haṭh* series.

Bird's eye perspective (vertical projection): characteristic of all Gujarātī and Rājput paintings, the horizon being very near the upper margin of the picture. This feature is universal in Indian landscape, *e. g.*, already at Bhājā. In oriental composition, *above* is generally equivalent to *behind*.

Representation of mountains by superimposed mounds or arches: (C., *R. P.*, pl. II, and No. CCXX in this Catalogue). Universal on punch-marked coins (so-called *caitya* of early numismatists); Gandhāra (Dharmarājika stūpa, A. S. I., A. R., 1912–1913, pl. IX, a); Amarāvatī (Burgess, J., *Buddhist stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, pl. LV, 5; Maṇḍor, Bhandarkar, D. R., in A. S. I., A. R., 1905–1906, fig. 1. This is the usual formula in Mesopotamia (Susa, Nineveh); it is found also in Crete. See also Petrucci, R., in *Burlington Magazine*, V, 29, 1916, p. 79 (extension of same formula to China).

Peacocks on roofs (Nos. LI, LIX): common at Ajaṇṭā, *e. g.*, Burgess, J., *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 198. At Bhārhut.

Garden-wall background (No. CCCXLIX). A method of composition in which the figures, etc., are represented against a background consisting of the high wall of a garden, overtopped by trees. Old examples include the Bhūteśvar *Śibi Jātaka* pillars (Foucher, A., in Mém. conc. l'Asie orientale, III, 1919, pl. III, 2, and Vogel, J. Ph., *Excavations at Mathurā*, A. S. I., A. R., 1909–1910, pl. XXVI), Ajaṇṭā Cave II (Griffiths, *Frescoes of*

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Ajunta, Vol. I, pl. 7) and Nepalese book covers (**20.589** in the Museum of Fine Arts).

Genre scenes with a person peeping over a curtain: Mathurā (Bhūteśvar) pillars illustrating the *Śibi Jātaka* (Foucher, A., *Les répresentations des Jātaka* in Mém. conc. l'Asie orientale, III, 1919, pl. III, 2); another railing pillar from Mathurā, Coomaraswamy, *Kunst und Kunstgewerbe Indiens und Indonesiens*, fig. 73.

Designs of animals with one head common to several bodies: see Nos. DCLIV, DCLV.

Cult of Nāgas: see No. LXXVI.

II. Compositions and motifs corresponding to miscellaneous references and rhetorical phrases of the classical literature:

Rāmāyaṇa (No. XVII, etc.): *Uttara Rāma Carita* of Bhavabhūti.

Descent of the Ganges (Nos. CLVI, CLXXII, CLXXIII and C., *R. P.*, pl. LXVI): "pictures of Śiva attended by Bṛṅgiriti" carved on rocks, Bāṇa, *Kadambarī*, 278 (translation by C. M. Ridding, London, 1896, p. 108).

Peacock's feather (No. CCCLI): see Rūpam, No. 4, 1920.

The wreath of foam at a river's edge (C., *R. P.*, pl. XLVIII b and Nos. CCLXXXI, CCCXXXIII): *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, XII, 107, "like the river Yamunā, with its dark blue water and its wreath of foam."

Lotus faces of women leaning from balcony windows (No. CCXXXIII): see also C., *R. P.*, p. 30, note 3. Figures in balconies are exceedingly common in early Indian art.

Falling rain drops, lightning, etc. (Nos. LIII, CLVIII, CCCXXXIII, CCCXXXIV, CCCXCIVB).

Lovers united in a painting (see No. CCCXLIV).

Snakes and sandal trees: (Nos. LVIII, LXX). A commonplace association in classical literature and cf. Bhāṣa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*.

Deer enchanted by music (Nos. X, LXXI): a commonplace, *e. g.*, Hemacandra, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, III, 194, and IX 39 (trans. Hertel, 1908); Bāṇa, *Kadambarī* (trans. Ridding, 1896, p. 95).

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THEMES OF RĀJPUT PAINTING

Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs

A favorite theme of Rājasthānī painters is a set of illustrations to a *Rāgmālā* or 'Garland of *Rāgas*,' poems describing the thirty-six musical modes. The *Rāga* (m.) or *Rāgiṇī* (f.) consists of a selection of from five to seven notes or rather intervals, distributed over the scale from C to C, the entire gamut of twenty-two notes being never employed in a single composition. The *Rāga* consists of full seven notes, the *Rāgiṇīs* associated with each of the six leading *Rāgas* being modifications or abbreviations of the full theme. The *Rāga* or *Rāgiṇī* is further defined by characteristic progressions, and a leading note to which the song constantly returns, but on which it does not necessarily end. It is thus something more than a mode — it is a 'melody mould,' though not yet a song or tune, for the number of songs or tunes that may be composed in a given *Rāga* or *Rāgiṇī* cannot be limited.

What is most important to observe is that the mode is known as clearly by the mood it expresses and evokes as by the technical musical definition. In other words, just as in old Greek music, the mode has in all cases a characteristic *ethos*. The moods expressed by the *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs* are connected with phases of love as classified by Hindu rhetoricians, and are appropriate to particular seasons or elements, *e. g.*, to the Rainy Season or to Fire, and all are definitely associated with particular hours of day or night, when alone they may be appropriately sung. It is not without importance to observe these proprieties, for the effect of a *Rāga* indiscreetly employed may be such as to change the day into night, or to create a general conflagration. If these effects are not nowadays observed it is ascribed to the degeneracy of modern musicians. In any case, these effects are descriptive of the psychological reactions which Hindū music never fails to evoke in its own environment.

Rāgmālā paintings represent situations in human experience having the same emotional content as that which forms the burden of the mode illustrated. In other words, the burden of the music, the flavor of the poem, and the theme of the picture are identical. Inasmuch as emotional situations have been elaborately subdivided and classified by the Hindū

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rhetoricians, in connection with literary and dramatic analysis, it follows naturally that the pictorial and poetical themes of the *Rāgmālās* often coincide with those of the rhetorical classification (see above, *Śṛṅgāra*); thus, Madhu-Mādhavī *Rāgiṇī* (C., *R. P.*, pl. 1) is an *abhisārikā*. Further, inasmuch as the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā* is mainly concerned with the love relations of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, these characters are frequently made use of in illustrating the *Rāgmālā* themes. Other pertinent situations are taken from Pauraṇik mythology or epic legend.

The *Rāgmālā* pictures in series are especially characteristic of the early Rājasthānī school in Rājputāna and Bundelkhaṇḍ, where they predominate almost to the exclusion of all other subjects. They also occur in considerable numbers amongst the Pahāṛī paintings of the Jamū group, but are practically unknown in Kāṅgṛā. To a small extent in the seventeenth century, and more often in the eighteenth, the themes of the *Rāgmālās* are taken up by Mughal and mixed Mughal-Rājput painters, and used merely as picturesque themes without, or with merely incidental reference, to the original usage.

The early Rājasthānī *Rāgmālā* pictures are the most archaic in aspect, most brilliant in color and purest in idiom of all Rājput works. From this, and from the fact that the theme-types are well established and practically constant (variations are common in the Jamū and later types), it would seem likely that the tradition of *Rāgmālā* painting must be an old one. No literary references are known which could throw light on the subject, with the possible exception of the designation, in the *Viṣṇudharmottaram*,[1] of a class of paintings as *Vaiṇika*, or lyrical (literally, 'of the lute'); these being differentiated from the *sāttvika* (spiritual), *nāgara* (secular), and *miśra* (mixed). On the other hand, we know nothing of descriptive *Rāgmālā* poems older than those found on the paintings themselves, and these are apparently in a Bundelkhaṇḍi dialect which is related to the language of the *Padumāvatī* of Malik Muhammad Jaisī, which can hardly be older than the beginning of the sixteenth century; and from this fact, and the frequent representation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as typical characters, we should be inclined to infer that the *Rāgmālā* vogue should be connected with the Vaiṣṇava revival and vernacular literary production of the four-

[1] Kramrisch, S., *Vishnudharmottaram*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 45.

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teenth to sixteenth centuries. That the style of the paintings, aside from their themes, has a much older ancestry, is not in question; all that can be said is that we have no proof of the existence of sets of *Rāgmālā* paintings older than the oldest so far discovered, and that these can hardly antedate the sixteenth century, and may not be older than the close of the sixteenth century.

The language of the *Rāgmālā* poems found on the paintings is in one sense not of a high order; that is to say, the poems themselves are somewhat lacking in literary elegance, and their vocabulary (and orthography) are somewhat provincial. In another sense, in the sense of profundity, their value is considerable. Whereas the Vaiṣṇava lyrics, properly so defined, adumbrate spiritual experiences in the terms of human passion, the *Rāgmālā* poems deal with human emotion, but in speaking of the deepest passion employ the technical phraseology of Yoga. The lover enters into trance (*dhyāna*) upon the Beloved, like a devotee (*tapī*) and loses her identity in him "as the worm becomes the ichneumon," a phrase usually applied to a merging of the self in the experience of God; the term *japtap*, nominally applied to the telling of beads, is used with reference to the constant repetition of the name of the Beloved.[1] Very often too, the descriptive passages are exceedingly vivid, as for example when the poet describes the close of a night of love:

> When many a rite has been paid to the God of Love,
> the morning dawns and it grows cool,
> Now is Vibhāsa wearied out,
> and sweet sleep steals upon the couch.[2]

The author of the *Rāgmālā* texts of Series 1 and 2 (Nos. I and II–XVI) in this Catalogue, one of S.1 in the Fogg Art Museum, two of S.2 in the Freer Gallery, two of S.2 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and one of S.2 in the Cleveland Museum of Art (and a few still in my possession) names himself Lachiman.[3] The author of Series 3 (Nos. L and LI in this

[1] In the Indian tradition, the lover is feminine, the Beloved masculine.

[2] Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Hindī Rāgmālā texts*, J. A. O. S., XLIII, pp. 396–409.

[3] Coomaraswamy, A. K., J. A. O. S., *loc. cit.*, p. 402. One picture perhaps from S.2 is in the British Museum (Heath, L.). Four others (S. 5) in the style of S.2, but not a part of the same series, are in the collection of Mr. A. Ghose, Calcutta; these are inscribed with *dohās* only, identical with those of S.2; one of these is reproduced by Ghose in the Indian Historical Quarterly, June, 1926.

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Catalogue) and British Museum Ms. Or. 2821 (the most complete text known to me) remains anonymous.[1] The two texts above referred to are quite distinct, but occasional phrases are common to both; in the same way the representations differ, but with some resemblances. Both texts are in the probably Bundelkhaṇḍī dialect above referred to, and the style of architecture depicted suggests a similar source (? Oṛchā).

The author of the British Museum text of Ms. Or. Add. 26550 is a poet by the name of Lāl; this is a later text and in a more definitely Rājasthānī, probably Jaipur, dialect.[2] The foregoing list by no means exhausts the total number of different *Rāgmālā* texts found on pictures in various collections; the theme appears to have been a favorite one although the only known texts are those found on the pictures.

Epics, Romances, and Purāṇas

The two great Indian epics in their various recensions and stages of development have provided an inexhaustible storehouse upon which the Indian poets, dramatists, and actors, painters and sculptors have continually drawn. The main outlines of these famous stories are so well known that it would be superfluous to repeat them here at length.

The Mahābhārata[3]

The wars of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas. The latter, the five sons of Pāṇḍu, are respectively Yudhiṣṭira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadeva; their blind uncle Dhṛtarāṣṭra rules in Hastināpura, and has a hundred sons, the Kurus, of whom the chief is Duryodhana. Yudhiṣṭira, however,

[1] The text of Lippeheidsche Bibliothek, 1474, Berlin, appears to be identical with that of S. 3 and B. M. Ms. Or. 2821; I am indebted to Dr. H. Goetz for transcriptions of *Mālaśrī* and *Gunakalī Rāgiṇīs* from this Ms. I have printed what is probably the *Dīpaka Rāga* text (missing in the British Museum Ms.) of this series in the Yearbook of Asiatic Art, London, 1925.

[2] The word *abhirāma* in the phrase *pragaṭa abhirāma kahābai* of ff. 20, 34, is a part of the descriptive text, not as interpreted by Blumhardt (*Catalogue of the Hindi, Panjabi and Hindustani manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1899, p. 61). The author's name, Lāl, appears on ff. 10, 11, 12 in the phrase *Lāla kahai.*

[3] Macdonell, A. A., *Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1900; Winternitz, E., *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1908; Coomaraswamy and Nivedita, *Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists*; Roy, P. C., *Mahabharata* (prose translation), Calcutta: 1884–1896; Dutt, M. N., *Mahabharata* (prose translation), Calcutta: 1895–1905; Dutt, R., *Mahabharata, The Epic of Ancient India*, London, 1899; Griffith, R. T. H., *Ramayana* (verse translation), London, 1870–74, reprint Benares, 1895; Dutt, M. N., *Ramayana* (prose translation), Calcutta, 1892–94.

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is appointed heir-apparent, but is banished with his four brothers at the instance of Duryodhana. The five Pāṇḍavas become allied to Drupada and marry his daughter Draupadī. After many adventures they return to Hastināpura and found the city of Delhi. But the hostility of the Kurus is unabated. The five Pāṇḍavas being invited to a festival at the Kuru court, Yudhiṣṭira is induced to gamble with Sakuni, and is cheated, losing in succession his wealth and kingdom, his brothers, himself, and Draupadī. The latter is miraculously preserved from Duhśāsana's insults. The five brothers and Draupadī are released but must go into exile for thirteen years. Returning at the end of this period the Pāṇḍavas utterly destroy the Kurus in the eighteen days' battle which concludes the story of the Great War.

Of the numerous myths, episodes, and romances included in the epic the *Bhagavad Gitā* is the most important; and the story of Nala and Damayantī is represented by an extensive series of Rājput drawings.

The Rāmāyaṇa [1]

Numerous versions exist or have existed. The classic recension is the Sanskrit text of Vālmīki. Rāma is an avatār of Viṣṇu, and heir to the throne of Ayodhyā. By the intrigue of his mother-in-law Kaikeyī, he is banished for fourteen years, during which time he lives in the Himālayan forests with his wife Sītā and brother Lakṣmaṇa, another brother acting as Regent on the death of his father Daśaratha. While living in the forests, Rāma slays countless demons. Their chief is Rāvaṇa, ruler of Laṅkā across the sea. Rāvaṇa has received the boon of immunity from the gods and can be slain only by a man and it is to this end that Viṣṇu has taken incarnation. Rāvaṇa decoys away Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by means of a magic golden deer, and in their absence carries off Sītā to Laṅkā. Rāma now enters into alliance with the monkey Hanuman, and later with Jambavan, chief of the bears; a bridge is built across the sea, and siege laid to Laṅkā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa being aided by a vast army of bears and monkeys and by Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāvaṇa's brother. In the end Rāvaṇa is slain and Sītā recovered, and all return in triumph to Ayodhyā.

[1] Translations by M. N. Dutt, Calcutta 1892–4; T. H. Griffiths, Benares 1870–74, and 1895; Dutt, R. C., London, 1900; G. Gorressio (Italian), Parigi, 1847–58; H. Fauche (French), Paris, 1854–8.

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RAJPUT PAINTINGS

One of the earliest descriptions of Hindu painting that we possess describes an extensive series of *Rāmāyaṇa* frescoes painted on the walls of a palace (Bhavabhūti, *Uttararāmacarita*, Act. 1); sculptured scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are represented on the basement of the Gupta temple at Deogaṛh. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is represented in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, Cambā by an extensive series of paintings (D67–D150),[1] in the present Catalogue mainly by Nos. XVII–XXIX from a large series probably of Jamū origin, as the annotations on unfinished sheets are written in Ṭākrī characters.[2] The series is further remarkable for its unusual dimensions (33 × 24 inches), and may be regarded as a transcript on paper of what were essentially compositions designed for mural paintings. Another series, from Kāṅgṛā, includes Nos. XCV–XCIX; Rājasthānī examples include Nos. LXXXIV–LXXXVII. I do not know of any large series of *Mahābhārata* illustrations:[3] but isolated subjects are illustrated in C., *R. P.*, Pls. xxvi, xxviia and by Nos. XC, XCI, C in the present Catalogue. The romance of Nala and Damayantī,[4] included in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is however represented by an extensive series of Pahāṛī drawings, Nos. CI–CXXX in this Catalogue (other examples in the Calcutta Art Gallery, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and in my possession) which are not only excellent examples of the Kāṅgṛā *qalm* at its best, but admirably illustrate the intimate life of a Pahāṛī court at the close of the eighteenth century. The known examples of the series are probably based upon some vernacular version rather than upon the original Sanskrit. Of later vernacular romances the following are represented in Rājput painting; the *Hamīr-Haṭh, Mālatī-Madhu, Sohnī-Mahīvāl, Sassī-Punūñ* (*Sūssi-Pannu, Sāsvī-Punhū*), *Laila-Majñūn, Padumāvati.*

Hamīr-Haṭh

This is a romance of Rājput chivalry, represented by Nos. CXXXIII–CXLVIII in this Catalogue and some others of the series are still in my possession. I have seen another series in the Maṇḍī *toṣikhāna;* these, attributed to a painter of the name of Sajñu, and dated ca. 1809–10, have

[1] Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue*, pp. 21–26. There is a late illustrated *Rāmāyaṇa* manuscript in the India office, in a style recalling No. CCXII in this Catalogue.

[2] Examples illustrated in C., *R. P.*, Fig. 1, Nos. 7, 8, 9.

[3] The *Razm-Nāmah* prepared for Akbar and now in Jaipur is, of course, a Mughal work.

[4] For the full story see Monier-Williams, *Nalopakhyanam*, Oxford, 1879.

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been published by H. Shastri.[1] Other sets of *Hamīr-Haṭh* paintings are preserved in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, Cambā,[2] and at Patyālā. The story may be summarized as follows: one of Alāu'd-Dīn's generals, Mahimā Śāh, forms a liaison with one of the queens, and, this being discovered, is obliged to make his escape. He makes his way to Ranthambhor, and Hamīr promises him protection, and does not hesitate to keep his word when Alāu'd-Dīn first threatens and then besieges his stronghold. In the final battle Alāu'd-Dīn is put to flight. But the ladies of Hamīr's court, mistaking the victory for defeat, have recourse to *jauhār* (suicide) to save their honor and are burnt to ashes. When Hamīr returns to his castle, and learns what has taken place, his heart is broken; he places his son on the throne, and himself commits suicide, making an offering of his head to Śiva.

The story is founded on historical events which took place in the thirteenth century.

Mālatī-Madhu

No. XCII in this Catalogue illustrates some Hindī version of this story, better known as the theme of Bhavabhūti's classic Sanskrit drama *Mālatī-Mādhava*, a love story in which Mādhava, son of the minister of a neighboring state is sent to Ujjayinī as a student, with a view to his marriage with Mālatī, daughter of the minister at Ujjayinī. The picture and accompanying portion of the Hindī text show the two young people as fellow students, and falling in love.

Sohnī-Mahĩvāl [3]

Mahĩvāl is a herder of buffaloes. Sohnī visits him at night, swimming across a river with the aid of an inverted earthen pot. Her brothers discover the matter and substitute a pot of unbaked clay; this goes to pieces in the water, and Sohnī is drowned. Nos. CXLIX, CL in this Catalogue represent Sohnī crossing the river.

[1] *The 'Hamir-hath,' or the obstinacy of Hamir, the Chauhan prince of Ranthambhor*, Journal of Indian Art, no. 132, 1916. References to the texts are given by Shastri, and in C., *R. P.*, p. 63.

[2] Shastri, *loc. cit.*, p. 36; not listed in Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue*.

[3] No published translation is known to me. The story should not be confused with that of *Hīr and Rāñjhā*, Kincaid, C. A., *Tales of old Sind*, 1922; de Tassy, G., 1857: *Histoire de la Littérature hindoue et hindoustanie*, II, 1870, p. 242; *Allégories, récits poétiques et chants populaires . . . de l'hindoustani*, Paris, 1876, p. 481, in which a prince adopts the disguise of a herdsman of buffaloes.

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Sassī-Punūñ [1]

It is prophesied to a certain Brāhman that he will have a daughter who will marry a Musalmān. To avoid this, when the child is born, he sets it afloat in a box on the Indus. The child is rescued and fostered by a Musalmān washerman. Punūñ, the son of a local chief, falls in love with her, by hearsay; he visits her village disguised as a merchant, and she returns his love, and the two are married. Punūñ's father and brothers regarding this as a misalliance, carry off and separate the lovers. Going on foot in search of her lord, Sassī is assaulted by a goatherd; she appeals to Allah to open the earth and the earth opens and receives her. Punūñ meanwhile sets out in search of his sweetheart and comes to the place where the earth has received her, where he sees and recognizes a piece of her *sārī* sticking out of the ground. He too prays that the earth may receive him; the earth opens, he springs into the chasm, and the two are united in the grave. Represented by No. CLI.

Lailā-Majñūn

This well-known Persian story of unhappy love is occasionally represented amongst Rājput paintings, more or less closely related to Persian or Mughal originals. Represented by Nos. XCIII, XCIV.

Padumāvatī [2]

A late manuscript in the India Office Library is lavishly illustrated, but is of little importance.

PAURĀṆIK

The greater part of the material upon which the Kṛṣṇa Līlā is based is drawn directly or indirectly from the *Bhāgavatā Purāṇa*.[3] Many of the legends in question were certainly current before the beginning of the Gupta period and probably before the beginning of the Christian era.

The only Purāṇa which is, as such, commonly illustrated in Rājput (Pahāṛī) painting is the *Mārkaṇḍeya* [4] (Nos. CLXXV–CLXXXVII in this Catalogue and a series in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, Cambā [5]). The

[1] Kincaid, C. A., *loc. cit.*, de Tassy, *Histoire*, II, p. 242; F. J. G., *Sāswī and Punhū*, London, 1863.

[2] Grierson, G. A., *Padumavatī of Malik Muhammad Jaisī*, Bibl. Ind.

[3] The Deccan College, Poona, possesses a fine illustrated *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, obtained in Udaipur, and dated 1634.

[4] Trans. Pargiter, F. E., Bibl. Ind., 1888–1904.

[5] Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue*, p. 26. See also, C., *R. P.*, p. 57. An account of Durgā with illustrations from Pahāṛī paintings has been published by S. N. Gupta, *The Goddess Durgā*, Modern Review, Oct., 1913.

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section illustrated in these series is the Devī-mahātmaya (Cantos 81–93 of the Purāṇa). The following summary of this section is taken from Pargiter, *loc. cit.*, pp. xxviii–xxix:

"Mārkaṇḍeya related that king Suratha, being ousted from his kingdom met a vaiśya driven from his family, and both consulted a ṛṣi about their longings for home; the ṛṣi ascribed their feelings to the goddess Mahāmāyā (Great Illusion), and related how, when she was lauded by Brahmā, Viṣṇu slew the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha. . .

"The ṛṣi then recited her exploits. Here begins the Devīmāhātmya properly. The demons under Mahiṣa vanquished the gods, and the goddess was formed as Caṇḍikā (Ambikā) out of their special energies combined; she began a great battle and destroyed the demons, all the demon chiefs and finally Mahiṣa himself. The gods praised her in a hymn, and she promised to befriend them always. Again the gods were vanquished by the demons Śumbha and Niśumbha, and invoked her; she appeared, and Śumbha wanted to marry her but she declined; he sent an army and she destroyed it; he sent another with Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa; the goddess Kālī destroyed them and Caṇḍikā gave her the combined name Cāmuṇḍā; Śumbha sent all his armies; Caṇḍikā killed the chief Raktavīja, then Niśumbha in spite of Śumbha's aid, and many demons, and finally Śumbha himself; whereat the universe was filled with joy. The gods praised her in a hymn and she promised to deliver them always. She descanted on the merits of this poem. The gods regained their supremacy; and she is extolled. Here ends the Devī-māhātmya proper.

"After hearing this poem king Suratha worshipped Caṇḍikā, and she promised he should be the eighth Manu, Sāvarni."

Other mythological subjects are drawn from earlier parts of the *Bhāgavatā Purāṇa*. Thus, at the *Churning of the Milky Ocean*, where the mountain Mandara (Meru) was the churning rod, the serpent Vasukī the rope, the *devas* pulled at the head, the *asuras* at the tail; the first product was the world poison which Śiva swallowed and by which his throat was stained blue; then came Lakṣmī, rising from the waters upon an expanded lotus, and laved by two or four elephants; and then a vessel of Living Water or water of immortality, for which the gods and asuras contended. Viṣṇu, assuming the form of a beautiful woman, obtained the consent of

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the asuras to a distribution of the water of life by herself, and offers it exclusively to the gods. One of the asuras, however, was seated amongst them, and received a draught (No. CCIV); he was beheaded by the discus of Viṣṇu, but could not be slain, and became the dual Rāhu (the cause of eclipses) and Ketu (the dragon tail and mother of meteors).

Another familiar subject is the *Birth of Brahmā*, who is represented as seated upon a lotus which springs from Viṣṇu's navel, as he reclines upon the serpent Ananta, floating in the ethereal sea, at the beginning of a new Kalpa or period of cosmic evolution.

An old Paurāṇik subject not infrequently represented in Rājput painting is the Salvation of the King of Elephants (*Gajendra Mokṣa*) or Elephant and Crocodile (*Gajagraha*). The story is that two great sages, each a devotee of Viṣṇu, incurred such curses from other saints that one became a crocodile the other an elephant, forgetting their former nature. One day when the elephant went down to the water to drink, the crocodile (sometimes so represented, sometimes as a sort of octopus, as on No. CLXXXIX, sometimes as a loathly worm with many eyes) seized him by the leg.[1] Remembering his former faith, the elephant sought refuge in Viṣṇu, lifting up a lotus flower in his trunk as an offering. Viṣṇu appearing in the form of Hari, riding upon Garuḍa, slew the crocodile with his discus and saved the elephant. Both of the transformed sages thus attained salvation at the hands of the Lord, and are reckoned amongst the 'Forty-two Beloved of the Lord,' the Hari-Vallabhas of the *Bhakta Mālā*. It is generally understood that the elephant represents the soul of man entangled in the snares of lust and pleasure, and powerless to save itself without the aid of the Adorable.[2]

Śaiva

Śaiva subjects, usually representations of Śiva and Pārvatī (Mahādeva and Umā) are by no means so abundant as Vaiṣṇava. The majority are of the Pahāṛī Kāṅgṛā school and represent the deities enthroned, wandering or resting in the Himālayas, Śiva as a long-haired yogī, Pārvatī as a de-

[1] A picture of this sort, on which the elephant's trunk is seized by the crocodile has been the foundation of Kipling's "How the Elephant got his Trunk" — his use of the material aptly illustrating Bain's dictum that 'Hindu India is for Rudyard Kipling a book sealed with seven seals.'

[2] Cf. Burgess, J., *Ancient Monuments of India*, II, pl. 252; Rao, T. A. G., *Hindu Iconography*, pl. LXXX, 1. For the *Bhakta-mālā* see Grierson, Sir G., in J. R. A. S., April, 1900. See also p. 39.

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voted and altogether human wife. These two are almost always accompanied by the bull Nandi and often by their children, the deities Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya. In these Himālayan pictures Śiva is typically a fair ascetic figure, wearing the crescent moon on his brow, with blue-stained throat, and serpent necklace, clad in a tiger or leopard skin, four-armed, his body smeared with ashes, and provided with a trident (*triśūla*), gourd (*kamaṇḍalu*) and tabor (*ḍamaru*). Pārvatī is represented in the contemporary costume of a Hindū princess. Geṇeśa, of course, is elephant-headed, Kārttikeya has six heads.

The Śaiva (and Śakta) pictures, with their Himālayan setting offer a type of landscape very different from that of the rivers and low hills of the Biās valley, characteristic of the Kṛṣṇa paintings and intended to represent the Braja Maṇḍala and Jamna. The Himālayan scenes, however, belong almost entirely to the foothills; in only two or three examples are snow-clad peaks represented, and deodars, so far as I know, in one only.

Śaiva painting of the type above indicated is represented by good examples in the collections. More extensive series exist elsewhere, amongst which may be mentioned a large number illustrating the Marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, preserved in the Maṇḍi *toṣikhāna*.

Tāntrik

The Tāntrik system of India, so called from its scriptures, the Tantras, plays a large part in modern Hinduism, and enters conspicuously into the texture of Hinduism and Buddhism from the seventh or eighth century onwards. Its most essential feature is the worship of feminine divinities and of the Supreme Power or Energy (Śakti) as feminine. This Devī, *the* goddess *par excellence*, is at once the source of illusion (*māyā*) which creates the *saṁsāra* (conditioned world of birth and death) and liberates from illusion, destroying the *saṁsāra*. She represents the Mother-aspect of the Brahman, both with and without attributes. She exists in all forms as Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Durgā, Parvatī, etc., in all female creatures: all life and being are manifestations, indeed, of this one supreme Energy. The system has its own elaborate and systematic mythology and cosmology. The Tāntrik system has been little studied and much abused by European writers; it embodies, however, whatever its abuses may have

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been, "a deep philosophic doctrine and a wonderful ritual which artistically shares with the Buddhist Tantras, though in a different way, the vehement splendour which has been aptly ascribed to the latter; a ritual which is, at the same time, when rightly understood, singularly rational and psychologically profound." [1]

Vaiṣṇava

Summary of the Kṛṣṇa Līlā [2]

The outstanding feature of the Vaiṣṇava revival of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries appears in the devotional cult of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. We therefore speak first of the Kṛṣṇa Līlā [3] with special reference to the *enfances*. [4]

Kṛṣṇa, as a descent (avatār) of a fourth part of Viṣṇu, becomes incarnate in the womb of Devakī, the wife of Vasudeva, in order that there might be accomplished the destruction of the tyrant Kaṁsa of Mathurā. Kaṁsa is Devakī's brother and consequently Kṛṣṇa's uncle. As his death at the hands of Kṛṣṇa has been foretold, Kaṁsa puts to death Devakī's sons, to the number of six, as soon as they are born. The seventh child (Balarāma) is miraculously transferred to the womb of Rohiṇī in Bṛndāban,[5] and there born and protected. The eighth child is Kṛṣṇa; and as it was of the eighth child that Kaṁsa had been specifically warned, the guards place Devakī and Vasudeva in chains. When Kṛṣṇa is born, he manifests in his divine form, and tells his parents to feel no anxiety; they are to convey him to Gokul (Bṛndāban) and substitute him for Yaśodā's new born daughter. Then becoming a human child, he begins to cry, and Devakī and Vasudeva fall again into the illusion of mortality and know only that a son has been born.

[1] Avalon, A., *Principles of Tantra*, London, 1914. Numerous other publications by the same author may be consulted, especially *The Serpent Power*, London, 1919 and *Shakti and Shākta*, Madras, 1920.

[2] This section, with exception of two paragraphs referring to the *Gīta Govinda* of Jayadeva, and the *Dān Līlā*, is based on the version of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, in the Hindī version of Ravi Lallu Lal known as the *Prem Sāgar* (of the former a French version by Burnouf, Paris, 1880–1884, is available, of the latter an English version, *The Prema Sagar*, or *Ocean of Love*, by Pincott London, 1897).

[3] The word *līlā* (sport, gestes) in a literary sense means cycle; in a religious sense, the works of God, as possessing the quality of manifestation, and not determined by necessity.

[4] For the epic Kṛṣṇa, see *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, I, pp. 20 ff.

[5] The dairy village and forest, where reside Nanda and Yaśoda, in the Braja Maṇḍala, where the Rās Līlā is enacted.

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Miraculously the chains are loosed, and Vasudeva takes the child and sets out. The Jamna is deep; but the child, perceiving his father's distress, stretches out his foot, and, when it touches the water, the river becomes fordable.[1] He deposits the child beside Yaśoda and taking the girl returns to Devakī. The gyves and manacles are miraculously replaced. Kaṁsa now hears that a child has been born; finding that it is (apparently) not a son, he is completely deceived, no longer believes in the prophecy, and releases Devakī and Vasudeva. A voice, however, announces that Kṛṣṇa has taken birth in the world; and, raging against Viṣṇu, Kaṁsa orders a massacre of all the Vaiṣṇavas.

Yaśodā, in Gokula, believes that Kṛṣṇa is the child she bore and his birth is celebrated with great rejoicings. Nand-jī and the cowherds (*gopas*) visit Mathurā and pay their annual tribute. Kaṁsa now sends out demons to destroy all children of the Yadu race, and these demons are successively slain by Kṛṣṇa; death at his hands, however, implies the attainment of salvation. The names of the demons whom he overcomes in early childhood are Pūtanā (who poisons the milk of her breasts); Śakaṭāsura (who crushes a heavy cart under which Kṛṣṇa is lying in his cradle); Trināvat (who becomes a whirlwind, but Kṛṣṇa becomes of such weight that he cannot be raised from the ground); Bacchāsur; Bakāsur, a gigantic crane (Kṛṣṇa opens its beak and tears it apart); Aghāsur (a serpent who swallows Kṛṣṇa and all his companions, whereupon the former swells up enormously and bursts the serpent); Dhenuka, who appears in the form of an ass; Śaṅkhāchūr; an *asura* in the form of a bull; the *asuras* Keśī and Byomāsur. These exploits are performed during the first twelve years of Kṛṣṇa's life.

At the same time Kṛṣṇa's childish sports and naughtiness are at once the delight and despair of his mother and of the milkmaids. In one house or another he is constantly stealing milk, curds, and butter (whence his epithets Laḍu-gopāla, Makkhan-choṛ, etc.); what he steals he eats, or gives to his companions. Usually Kṛṣṇa, by his wiles, convinces Yaśodā of his innocence, and escapes all punishment. On one occasion he is tied to a heavy mortar to keep him out of mischief; nearby are growing two trees side by side and in these trees by the enchantment of the Ṛṣi Nārada are

[1] A familiar brass toy represents the infant Kṛṣṇa seated within a cup. If water is poured into the cup, it rises no higher than the child's foot.

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embodied the two sons of Kuvera, Nala and Kūvara. Kṛṣṇa drags the mortar until it lies crossways between the trees and then pulls upon it, uprooting the two trees, whereupon the two young men are released and appear in their own form, worshipping Kṛṣṇa. Nand and his pastoral community now remove from Gokula across the river, to Bṛndāban, in order to be more secure.

Reminiscences of an early conflict between the Kṛṣṇa cult and the once more orthodox Brāhmaṇical cults of Brahmā and Indra are embodied in certain episodes in which these deities are overcome by Kṛṣṇa. Brahmā steals away Kṛṣṇa's companions and the cows, and hides them in a cave, but Kṛṣṇa recreates them in illusory forms, and alarms Brahmā by making their forms more godlike than the gods themselves; the latter asks pardon of Kṛṣṇa, and the cowherds and kine are released. Considerably later Kṛṣṇa substitutes a cult of Mount Govardhana for that of Indra; the latter then attempts to destroy the cowherds by torrential rains; but Kṛṣṇa raises up Mount Govardhana, and holding it above them on the tip of his finger, protects his friends, and Indra acknowledges Kṛṣṇa's superiority. In the same way Varuṇa, whose servants have seized Father Nand while bathing in the Jamnā, yields to him.

Another of Kṛṣṇa's exploits is the subduing of the poisonous Nāga Kāliya who haunts the Kālidah whirlpool in the Jamnā, and poisons the water for a distance of four leagues, making it boil. Kṛṣṇa resolves on Kāliya's death,[1] and, playing with a ball, he ascends a Kaḍamba tree, the only living thing to be found near the Kālidah; allowing his ball to fall into the water he jumps in after. Kāliya with his hundred and ten hoods is aroused; meanwhile Nand and Yaśodā, the cowherds, and milkmaids rush in terror on the shore, calling upon Kṛṣṇa to escape.[2] Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa's brother, consoles them. Kṛṣṇa avoids the attacks of Kāliya, and springs upon his head, assuming the weight of the three worlds, and dancing. Kāliya recognizes that this must be the incarnation of Viṣṇu, and yields. Then Kāliya's wives implore Kṛṣṇa to spare the life of their lord, for "death itself is excellent for a woman without a husband." Kāliya at the

[1] According to the version of Sūrdās, the occasion is made by Kaṁsa, who sends to Father Nand demanding a lotus flower from the Kālidah.

[2] A good picture of this scene is reproduced in the Burlington Magazine, vol. XX, 1912.

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same time prays forgiveness; and Kṛṣṇa consents to banish him to Raunik Dīp. Kāliya worships Kṛṣṇa and departs.

Kṛṣṇa is constantly playing upon his bamboo flute (*veṇu, murali*), making music of surpassing sweetness; very often he stands beneath a Kaḍamba tree in the forest, while the cows are grazing.

On one occasion when the milkmaids are bathing in the Jamnā, he steals their clothes, and will not surrender them until they come to pray for them, hand in hand.

Once when the cowherds are hungry, he sends to ask food from the Brāhmans of Mathurā. The Brāhmans refuse, but their wives hasten to carry offerings of food to Kṛṣṇa. One is prevented by her husband, and bound, so that she cannot accompany the others, and dies; but they find her already with Kṛṣṇa. When the women return to Mathurā, their husbands repent.

Kṛṣṇa is the charmer of all hearts (*mana-mohana, mana-choṛ*), and for his sake the milkmaids disregard all conventions of social morality. Above all others, Rādhā or Rādhikā is his particular companion and darling.

The term *Rās Līlā*, literally "Passion-play," is applied to the sports of Kṛṣṇa with the milkmaids. On a clear autumn night, Kṛṣṇa remembers that he has promised the milkmaids to dance with them, and so goes into the forest and plays upon his flute. All the milkmaids are entranced and disturbed by the sound, and at last "abandoning the illusion of the family, breaking through modest reserve, abandoning household duties, in confusion, they rose and hurried forth." One, as she rose to go from near her husband, was hindered by him, and brought back to the house — "then, indeed, she, meditating on Hari, abandoned the body, and before all others went and reached him. Perceiving the affection of her heart, Śri Kṛṣṇa Cand gave her final emancipation." When the others come to Kṛṣṇa he asks them first why they have disregarded reputation and duty in so doing, for the "woman who leaves her husband and goes to another, in birth after birth obtains a dwelling in hell," and he recommends them to return. They protest their devotion and the renunciation they have made in coming to him; he recognizes their love and invites them to dance. They prepare themselves, and the music and dancing begin; but they without discrimination conceive that Kṛṣṇa is now subject to their charms and think of

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him as their lord in a literal and mortal sense. He therefore abandons them, and, taking only Rādhā with him, roams through the forest. They search for him everywhere, inquiring of every tree and creeper, beast and and bird, if they have seen him. At last they find the marks of his feet and of Rādhā's, and a mirror (and the use of this mirror was that when the Beloved was seated to plait the Sweetheart's hair, she would hold the mirror in order still to behold his face); and so they continue their search. Meanwhile Rādhā, in the same way believing that Kṛṣṇa is subject to her charms, and has need of her as she of him, and so acting in spiritual pride, tells him that she is weary and asks him to carry her. He smiles and stoops and begs her to climb on his shoulder, but as she stretches out her hands, he vanishes. There the milkmaids find her alone, in tears, and feel they have found a half of what they are seeking, and all together continue the search. When at last they cannot find him, they return to the river bank where the dance had been, and wait. There they speak of Kṛṣṇa and of their devotion to him, and bewail their solitude.

Then Kṛṣṇa recognizes their humility and need of him, and appears in their midst. They are delighted and restored, but they reproach the Lord for his faithlessness and neglect — he steals all hearts and recognizes no obligations. On a question being propounded he admits that of all ways of acknowledging service the worst is ingratitude. But when they believe that he thus condemns himself, he adds "I am not in this reckoning, as you think and laugh about; on the contrary, my method is that whoever desires anything from me, the desires of his heart I satisfy." He acknowledges their love and will reward them fully and freely.

Then by Yoga illusion making himself many, he dances hand in hand with the milkmaids in a ring; between each pair is Kṛṣṇa and each believes that he is at her side. So in this dance, the *Rās Maṇḍala*, there whirl around

> Milkmaids and Nanda's son, alternate like storm clouds and lightning,
> The darkling Kṛṣṇa and fair Braj girls, like a gold and sapphire necklace.

"And there was such harmony of the *Rāgas* and *Rāgiṇīs*, that by hearing it, wind and water no longer moved." When the night — in which months had passed unawares — was advanced, Kṛṣṇa sends the milkmaids home,

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telling them that "as Yogīs meditate, do you also meditate upon me; wherever you may be I shall be near you."

The famous *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva, a Bengālī poet writing in Sanskrit in the thirteenth century constitutes a kind of lyrical drama with three speakers — Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, and the messenger (*Dutikā*).[1] The poem describes the preoccupation of Kṛṣṇa with worldly pleasures, typified by the milkmaids other than Rādhā herself; the loneliness of Rādhā, and her messages to Kṛṣṇa by which he is reminded of his true allegiance; and Kṛṣṇa's return to Rādhā, with the bliss of their reunion. The conception is thus a little varied from that of the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā* as ordinarily presented.

An episode (not in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*), known as the *Dāna Līlā*, depicts Kṛṣṇa as keeper of the ferry on the Jamnā, which the milkmaids must cross when they take their milk and curds to sell in Mathurā. He demands from them a fee, which at first they refuse, but at last acknowledge him as lord of all that they are or possess; they remain with him all night and again take part in the *Rāsa Maṇḍala*.[2]

Kaṁsa now learns the true story of Kṛṣṇa's birth, and decides to institute a wrestling match and other sports to which Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma shall be invited, and where they shall be slain. He again imprisons Vasudeva and Devakī and sends Akrūr with an invitation to Kṛṣṇa, and the latter sets out for Mathurā together with Nand-jī and all his company. On the way Kṛṣṇa reveals his Godhead to Akrūr, who worships him. In Mathurā he meets a hunchbacked woman named Kubjā, who is secretly his devotee; he makes her straight and beautiful and promises to visit her later.

They now reach the king's palace, and there Kṛṣṇa breaks the great bow of Śiva which has been set up in the arena where the contests are to take place. Kaṁsa is alarmed; he orders the arena to be prepared, and sends out a furious elephant, Kubaliya, whose driver urges it on to the attack. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma make sport of it, and at last the former kills it. Then the wrestling takes place, and these two make an end of all their opponents. Then Kṛṣṇa springs up on the royal dais, throws down Kaṁsa

[1] The best translation is that by Courtillier, G., Paris, 1904. There is a poetical version in English by Sir Edwin Arnold, in *Indian poetry*.

[2] Coomaraswamy, A. K., *The Taking of Toll* (*Dāna Līlā*), trans., London, 1915.

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and slays him. He comforts the wives of Kaṁsa, telling them to perform the obsequies, reminding them that

> No one lives for ever; he is false who calls anything 'my own.'
> No one is mother, father, son or relative; there is naught but the succession of birth and death.

Kṛṣṇa now releases Vasudeva and Devakī, places Ugrasena upon the throne and dismisses the cowherds, his companions, to Bṛndāban. He remains in Mathurā with Balarāma and pursues Vedic studies. He slays the demon Śaṅkhāsura and takes the conch as his own weapon; and restores his teacher's son to life. He sends Udho to Brṇdāban to comfort the herdsmen and milkmaids; they are in deep distress, and bitterly reproach the Lord for deserting them; they are jealous of Kubjā. They are not content with the practice of devotion, but long for him whom they have known as a lover.[1]

At this point the connection is made between the Gopāla (cowherd) Kṛṣṇa with the Kṛṣṇa of the epics. Jurāsindhu attacks and occupies Mathurā; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma with Ugrasena retire to Dvārakā and take up their residence there. Balarāma marries Revatī, and Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī, daughter of the Rājā of Kuṇḍalpur, after meeting her by arrangement at a temple of Devī and carrying her away under the very eyes of the armed guard. Rukmiṇī bears a son, Pradyumna, who is as it were an incarnation of Kāmadeva, and in fact of Viṣṇu.[2]

Duryodhana now attempts to murder the Pāṇḍavas; Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma hasten to their aid at Hastinapur. Kṛṣṇa marries other princesses.

Pradyumna has a son, Aniruddha, by Carumatī. There is a powerful *asura*, Vaṇāsur, endowed by Śiva with a thousand arms and boundless strength. Not knowing how to employ his superabundant power, he approaches Śiva, who tells him that Kṛṣṇa alone will be able to confront him; and gives him a banner to set upon his palace, and when this banner spontaneously breaks and falls, he will know that Kṛṣṇa has taken incarnation. Vaṇāsur has a very beautiful daughter Uṣā; she becomes as learned as she

[1] The theme of two famous songs by Sur Dās, entitled *Bhramar-gīt*. See translation in New Orient, III, 2, 1926.

[2] In the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā*, Kṛṣṇa is the incarnation of Viṣṇu as Hari and represents Rāma; Balarāma corresponds to Lakṣmana; Pradyumna to Bharata; Aniruddha to Satrughna; and Rukminī to Sītā. The *gopas* and *gopīs* are incarnations of the minor gods and their wives, devotees of Kṛṣṇa, who took birth in the district of Braja as Yaduvaṁsis (descendants of Yadu, a hero of the Lunar dynasty).

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is fair. When she is twelve years old, she longs for a husband; and in a dream she sees and embraces Aniruddha, but awakes without knowing his name. She relates the affair to her confidante (*sakhī*) Citrarekhā; the latter draws the likeness of all the great personages in the universe, and finally, one by one, the forms of the Yaduvaṁśīs, and amongst the latter Uṣā recognizes Aniruddha. Citrarekhā promises to fetch him; she travels through the air to Dvārakā, finds him dreaming of Uṣā, and carries him off, asleep on the bed. When he awakes, he is alone with Uṣā. She keeps him concealed in her palace. At last the matter is brought to the ears of Vaṇāsur, and he surrounds the palace of the princess with his army of demons. Aniruddha awakes, and scatters the army but is captured and bound by Vaṇāsur. Aniruddha and Uṣā are confined. The Ṛṣi Nārada conveys the news to Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa sets out with an army, accompanied by all the Yādavas, to his rescue. Vaṇāsur is defeated in a bloody battle, loses all but four of his arms, worships Kṛṣṇa, and bestows his daughter upon Aniruddha in formal marriage. They return to Dvārakā.

Kṛṣṇa now sends Balarāma to Gokula to visit Nand and Yaśoda; he finds the herdsmen and milkmaids intent on the thought and love of Kṛṣṇa. Balarāma spends two months in Bṛndāban, discoursing of Kṛṣṇa by day and dancing with the milkmaids at night. One night when Balarāma wished to bathe, he called to the Jamnā to come to him; and when the river paid no heed to his command, he angrily drew her toward himself in a furrow which he made with his plough. At last he returns to Dvārakā. Nārada visits Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā and observes his manner of living with many wives; in numberless forms, he is the companion of each. Kṛṣṇa now returns to the Pāṇḍavas in Hastināpur. He assists them in the great war against the Kauravas; and slays Śisupāla, and other heroes.

The story of the Brāhman, Sudāmā (Śrīdāmā) is now told. Sudāmā had been a fellow pupil of Kṛṣṇa under the same *guru*. He is exceedingly poor, but at his wife's suggestion decides to visit Kṛṣṇa. He has no better offering to take to him than a few handfuls of rice tied up in a rag. He arrives at Dvārakā, enters the palace, and finds Śrī Kṛṣṇa enthroned. Kṛṣṇa rises and receives him with much honor. With great hesitation he produces his humble gift, and Kṛṣṇa partakes of it. Sudāmā does not prefer any request, but Kṛṣṇa, who knows the needs of all, despatches Viśvakarmā to erect a

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palace for Sudāmā. Sudāmā takes leave and returns; he finds in place of his poor village and hut a rich city and palace. He finds that the palace is his own, and is abashed; for he had not asked any reward for his devotion, but is reassured by his wife.

Nand, Yaśodā and the *gopas* and *gopīs* now visit Śrī Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā; he praises their devotion. Not by meditation, he says, have they made him their own, but by their love. Kṛṣṇa restores the six elder brothers slain at birth by Kaṁsa. He continues to lead a life of prosperity and pleasure at Dvārakā.

Content of the Kṛṣṇa Līlā[1]

Such is the outward form of the Kṛṣṇa legends in bare outline. To Indian ears this is much more than a story. In Vaiṣṇava experience the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā* is not an historical event, but an eternal reality. As Nīlakaṇṭha expresses it, "Devakī and other names are merely allegorical, bearing an esoteric meaning. The narration is not the real point. The Rās Līlā (that part of the story dealing with the love relation of Kṛṣṇa with the milkmaids of Bṛndāban) is based upon undying and eternal truths, the permanent relations between Jīva and Īśvara (soul and God). The heart of man is the seat of this Līlā, which can be reproduced at all times, in the heart of every real Bhaktā (lover of God) . . . . The Līlā is constantly performed in Goloka (Kṛṣṇa's heaven, that is, a certain station of consciousness) and is reproduced over parts of the Brahmāṇḍa (the temporal Universe), according to the will of Kṛṣṇa."

Moreover the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā* is not concerned with the plane of conduct, its theme is spiritual rather than moral. It is taken for granted that, on the plane of conduct, the sanctions of morality according to the norm of the Indian social order are indefeasible. It must never be forgotten that Kṛṣṇa is God and that his actions are in no way determined by necessity or by desire. King Parikṣit, to whom the story is related, is indeed bewildered, and asks of Śrī Śukadev-jī, who tells the story, how it is, if Kṛṣṇa

[1] For interpretation of the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā* consult especially: Sinha, P. N., *A Study of the Bhagavata Puraṇa*, Benares, 1901; Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Rājput Painting*, Oxford, 1916; Sen, D. C., *History of Bengali Language and literature*, Calcutta, 1911; Coomaraswamy, A. K., and Sen, A., *Vidyapati, Bangiya Padabali*, London, 1915; Coomaraswamy, A. K., *The Taking of Toll*, being the *Dāna Līlā*, translated into English, London, 1915.

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descended to remove the burden of the earth to give happiness to good and pious folk, that he danced and sported with the wives of others. Śrī Śukadev-jī replies.

"Listen, O King! regarding God as human, you fail to comprehend this mystery. What are not the powerful doing? Who knows their course of action? They indeed do nothing for themselves; but having reflected, you will perceive that they are separate from all, as the leaf of the lotus from the water. Revere the actions of Hari, but do not give your mind to the doing of them."

Parikṣit asks again how it is that that milkmaid who would have gone to Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the forest, but was detained by her husband, obtained emancipation, for she did not know him as God, but regarded him as a sensual object of desire. Śukadev-jī replies: "Incarnation of Justice! They who celebrate the virtues of the greatness of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Cand even unwittingly, they too undoubtedly obtain the emancipation of faith. . . . And hearken! I am now declaring with what, and how many, and what various dispositions Śrī Kṛṣṇa was revered and salvation won; thus, Nand, Yaśodā and others, knew him as a son; the milkmaids as their lover; Kaṁsa worshipped him by fear; the cowherds called him their friend; Śisupāla paid honour to him as a foe; the Yaduvaṁśīs made him one of themselves; the Yogīs, ascetics and sages pondered upon him as God; but at last, everyone of them obtained emancipation. If then one milkmaid by absorption in the thought (*dhyāna*) of him, attained the farther shore of the ocean of birth and death, what is the marvel?"

The theme of the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā* is thus entirely distinct from that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The latter is pseudo-historical, and sets forth a social ideal, in which by a righteous life (performance of *svadharma*) a man may approach to a nearer union with God, the former describes the very nature of accomplished union (*bhāva-saṁmilana*).

Further: the fundamental concept of Vaiṣṇava theology is to be found in its view of the universe, not as in the Vedānta a complete illusion, but as a theophany. When the mirror of the soul is cleansed, then God alone is reflected therein, and all things are seen to be as they are, infinite. Therefore, the whole drama of life, the humblest or simplest event, the most intimate moments of passion, the forms and behaviour of the whole in-

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animate and animate creation, whether visible or mythological, and without the smallest distinction of sacred and profane, is a vocabulary available to all those who have experience of God and are moved to speak of it. In the last analysis, the revelation afforded by the whole or by any aspect of life is of one and the same validity; but here, all spiritual experience was seen reflected in the relation of Lover and Beloved, more clearly than in any other way. In the language of human love the Vaiṣṇava mystics found ready to their hands a most explicit vocabulary of devotion and of union. The ultimate essential of all such devotion is self-forgetfulness and self-surrender, the root of all division is pride and self-will, and therefore the drama of spiritual experience is represented by the love of woman for man.

"That love which makes me to live a limitless life in this world. . . . It is like a wife, who enters the fire at the bidding of love," says Kabir. Above all it is represented by the greatest renunciation she can make for his sake, the abandonment of family honour, reputation, and of her whole position in the world. For this, and even death, are the inevitable consequence of adultery in a social order like that of India, where the foundations of morality are based upon an ideal of pure descent and of dedication to social function. The perfect experience of union is known to the milkmaids because 'like a *vairāgī*' they have left all to follow him. It is true that this union can be otherwise achieved, and through any bond, for example, as we have seen, by knowledge or by enmity, but, inasmuch as the Paurāṇic renaissance is essentially a devotional movement, the emphasis throughout is laid on love. It should also be observed that it is not only in those works which specifically illustrate the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā* that these ideas prevail; a sense of the concurrence of physical and spiritual reality is a new and conscious blossoming of the characteristically Indian idea that life in all its functions should be known as a ritual having at once an exoteric and an esoteric significance. Not that life is an allegory, and can be used to suggest a meaning other than its own, but that its meaning is at one and the same time spiritual and physical.[1] Not only then do the terms of human love

[1] It is worth while to explain here what from an Indian point of view, is regarded as profane or animal conduct. Such conduct is not recognizable by its outward form, and cannot be avoided by mere abstemiousness; 'Impurity is the progeny of Ignorance, which, having divorced Divinity from what is naturally a Divine act, has lowered it into one of mere enjoyment.' It is not the fulfillment

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express the life of the spirit; but the life of the spirit in its turn illuminates and transfigures every human emotion and mortal experience. In the *Rāgmālās* for example, and in Rhetoric, where human emotions are the theme, the technical language of yoga is used with reference to human passion as naturally as the terms of passion are elsewhere used in works of pure devotion.

Cult of Śrī Nātha-jī: [1] A special form of Kṛṣṇa worship is represented in the cult of Śrī Nātha-jī, established by Śrī Vallabhācārya at the close of the fifteenth century. Śrī Nātha-jī became manifest (i. e., was discovered) in the form of a buried image on the Govardhan hill near Mathurā. Śrī Nātha-jī appeared to Vallabhācārya in a dream commanding him to erect a shrine and preach his worship. In the time of Aurangzeb, the persecuted Vallabhācārīs removed the image to Māṛwār obtaining the protection of Rāj Siṅgh of Udaipur. The cart conveying the image stuck fast at Nāthadvār, twenty-four miles north of Udaipur, and a new shrine was erected there, and has since formed the centre of the cult, which still flourishes throughout Western India. Pictures of various sizes, in a peculiar, primitive and stereotyped style, representing Srī Nātha-jī with Rādhā, and also the episode of the discovery of the image, are produced in great numbers for the pilgrims to Nāthadvār. Examples may be seen in almost every shopkeeper's booth at Mathurā. Pictures of Daujī or Baldeo (Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa), of Kṛṣṇa as Dvarkānātha are made after the same peculiar convention. The name of Śrī Nātha-jī, and his footprint symbols are often found on enamelled Rām-nomi pendants.

Śṛṅgāra

Śṛṅgāra, the 'flavor of love,' [2] in the sense of the technical workson rhetoric, is fully illustrated in Rājput painting, forming the immediate theme

of animal functions that lowers a man from his high estate to that of a beast, but the failure to recognize in these functions the working of divine necessities. On these points see Avalon, A.: *Principles of Tantra*, 1916, Introduction, pp. cxxxi ff.

[1] For Śrī Nātha-jī see C., *R. P.*, p. 41; Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śáivism*, etc., 1913, p. 77; Tod, J., *Annals of Rajasthan*. For Daujī, see Vogel, J., *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., 1908–09, Calcutta, 1912. For the iconography of Śrī Nātha-jī, and the related types see (Karsandas Mulji) *History of the sect of Mahārājas, or Vallabhācharyas in Western India*, 1865, pl. facing p. 106.

[2] The first of the 'nine *rasas*' or flavors which may predominate in a work of art. These flavors are caused by the inherent emotions, *bhāvas*, in the case of Śṛṅgāra, by love or desire (*prema, rati,*

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of a large part of the eighteenth-century Pahāṛī Kāṅgṛā works, and less immediately but quite consciously the theme of the *Ragmālā* paintings. Equally definitely the phases of love are illustrated in the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā*, while, in turn, in the sets of pictures illustrating the *Aṣṭanāyakā*, etc., the typical hero and heroine are represented by Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

In order that the subjects of many of these pictures may be understood without repeated explanation in each individual instance, it will be necessary to summarize the phases of love and the classifications of heroines according to the rhetoricians.

Love (*Śṛṅgāra*) is primarily divided as *Viraha*, or *Viyoga*, unhappy love or love in separation or unachieved, and *Saṁyoga*, love in union. There are nine or ten stages of *Viraha*, of which the first *Abhilāsa* or longing, third *Smarana* or reminiscence and seventh *Vyādhi*, sickness and washing away or fever are most important for the elucidation of Rājput paintings. These stages of *Viraha* may arise in four different situations: (1) in *Pūrva rāga* or first love, when the meeting of eyes has taken place in real life, or when the lovers have met in dreams, or have seen each other's picture, (2) in *Māna* when the lovers are divided by pride or resentment, (3) in *Pravāsa* when the lovers are separated in different countries and (4) with the flavor of pathos (*Karuṇā*) when one is dead. The first three of these situations, as well as another (which should perhaps be classed under *Pravāsa*) in which one of the lovers has adopted an ascetic life and retired from the world, are frequently presented in Rājput painting. Any heroine suffering from unhappy love or love in separation is designated as a *Virahinī*.

Māna requires a slightly fuller explanation. Originally meaning 'any intrusion of the ego,' it covers all kinds of pride, indignation, resentment, jealousy, etc., which may harden the heart of the Beloved. In spiritual

kāma). The *bhāvas* find expression in *hāvas* or *ceṣṭās* or behaviour, constituting the graces of the heroine. There are also stimulants (*vibhāva*), accessory emotions (*viyābhicāri bhāva*) and consequent gestures (*anu-bhāva*). Only so much of the rhetorical analysis of the emotions is given here as is absolutely necessary to an accurate description of the Rājput paintings. The matter is treated at length in Grierson, G. A., *Satsāiyā of Bihārī*, Calcutta, 1896; Schmidt, R., *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902; Regnaud, P., *La Rhétorique sanskrite*, Paris, 1884, and Haas, G. C. O., *The Daśarūpa of Dhanamjaya*, New York, 1912. The Rājput painters follow the *Rasikapriyā* of Keśava Dās (ed. Bombay, 1900). No translation of this difficult Hindī text is yet available, but some extracts will be found in C., *R. P.*, and in Coomaraswamy, A. K., *The Eight Nayakas*, Journal of Indian Art, No. 128, London, 1914.

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significance *māna* is that self-willing and self-thinking which hinders the soul from self-surrender to the Lord.

A brief reference must be made to the excitants (*vibhāva*) referred to above (p. 64, footnote). There are external circumstances which stimulate or enhance emotion. In general, these excitants (such as moonlight, rain, the buzzing of bees, sandal paste) are a source of delight to united, and of suffering to divided lovers.

The subject of augury must also be mentioned. The crow, in particular, is regarded as the messenger of separated lovers.[1]

The phases of 'Love in Union' (*Saṁyoga*) are treated at great length by the rhetoricians, and abundantly illustrated in Rājput paintings, but are too many and too various for separate discussion here.

Hindu writers classify the heroes (*nāyaka*) and heroines (*nāyakā*) of literature and legend in several ways according to their character (age or experience, etc.) and situation (union or separation, etc.). From our point of view the most important of these classifications is that of the *Aṣṭanāyakā* or Eight Heroine types, for which sets of pictures and single illustrations are abundant. The eight *nāyakās* are as follows:

Svadhinapatikā, she whose lord is subject to her will.

Utkā, Utkalā, Utkaṇṭhitā or *Virahotkaṇṭhitā*, she who expects and yearns for her lover.

Vāsakaśayyā or *Sajjikā*, she who expects her lord to return from a journey, and waits with the bed prepared.

Abhisaṁdhitā or *Kalahāntaritā*, she who repulses her lord when he seeks to soften her pride; she repents when it is already too late.

Khaṇḍitā, she whose lord has spent the night away from home; when he returns in the morning, she reproaches him bitterly.

Proṣita-patikā or *Proṣita-preyasī*, she whose lord has gone abroad, appointing a time of return; the day has come, but he has not yet returned.

Vipralabdhā or *Labdhāvipra*, she that keeps an appointment, but night passes without her lover coming.

Abhisārikā, she who goes out to seek her beloved.

[1] Cf. the reference to 'crow-craft' in the *Brahma-jala sutta* (Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, l. 19).

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Several varieties of the last are distinguished according to the sentiments of the *nāyakā* or the circumstances of her journey, e. g., *Kāmābhisārikā*, *Kṛṣṇābhisārikā*, *Garbhābhisārikā*, etc.

These *nāyakās* are represented by the Pahāṛī painters as follows:

The *Svadhinapatikā* is seated at ease, while her lord is kneeling to tend her feet.

The *Utkā* waits at the trysting-place, sitting upon or standing beside a bed of leaves under a tree or at the edge of a grove. In the foreground there is water with lotus blossoms, and at one side the wild deer are grazing or snuffing the wind.

The *Vāsakaśayyā* looks out expectantly from the door of her house, or is actually welcoming her returning lord, while the maids are preparing the bed within. Sometimes a crow is introduced into the picture, the omen of a returning lover. If the husband has actually returned, as in the picture given in the 'Journal of Indian Art,' No. 128, fig. 13, the *nāyakā* should be distinguished as *Āgatapatikā*.

The *Abhisaṁdhitā* has repulsed her beloved, and sits on the ground in deep dejection, while he turns his back and departs.

The *Khaṇḍitā* meets her late-returning lover in the early morning, and overwhelms him with reproaches.

The *Proṣita-patikā* is seated in company with her *sakhī*, and will not be comforted because her lord has not yet returned.

The *Vipralabdhā* waits like the *Utkā* by a bed of leaves; but dawn has come without the expected lover, and the *nāyakā* is tearing off her jewels in disgust, and casting them down.

The *Abhisārikā* goes out on a dark and stormy night;[1] some of her jewellery has fallen by the way; cobras twine like anklets about her ankles; the lightning flashes, the rain pours; and the path is haunted by goblin-hags. Sometimes the *Abhisārikā* is represented as just arriving at her lover's house, or at the place of trysting. If, on the other hand, it be moonlight, she wears white garments.

[1] Cf. the Western symbol of the 'terrors of the Divine Dark' — Underhill, Ruysbroeck, 1915, p. 150.

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The two main varieties of the *Abhisārikā* are:

Śuklābhisārikā, she who visits her beloved on bright moonlit nights, wearing white garments.

Kṛṣṇābhisārikā, she who visits her beloved on dark nights, wearing dark garments.

The latter of these is alone represented in the Rājput paintings. Heroines are also classified in three types as: *Svakiyā* (loving her own lord), *Parakiyā* (loving one who is not her legitimate lord) and *Sāmānyā* (impartial). A majority of *Nāyakās* illustrated in *Rāgmālā* pictures and in pictures of *Nāyakās,* are *svakiyā:* but Rādhā is typically a *parakiyā* heroine.

Another classification is according to the extent of the heroine's experience. The inexperienced or artless heroine (*navala bālā,* and unmarried girl not over sixteen years of age) is *Mugdhā, Mugadinī* or *Navoḍhā.* One somewhat older in whom modesty and love are equally balanced is called *Madhyā;* one who is experienced is called *Prauḍhā* or *Pragalbhā.*

Another classification is according to the heroine's self-command when her lover is unfaithful; thus *Dhīrā,* she who has, and *Adhīrā* she who lacks self control, and *Dhīrādhīrā* she who can sometimes conceal her anger and sometimes cannot do so.

The classification of Heroes (*nāyaka*) is much simpler. *Bharata* (*Nāṭya śāstra* Ch. XXII) defines fourteen types, but the Hindī authors (Keśava Dās in the *Rasikapriyā,* 11, 2 and Jasvant Siṅgh in the *Bhāṣā-bhūṣana,* 1, 6–8) make a threefold classification as follows:

Pati (husband), *Upapati* (paramour), and *Vaiśika* (one who resorts to women of easy virtue); and a fourfold classification as *Anuikūla* (faithful), *Dakṣiṇa* (impartial, but kind to one while loving another), *Śaṭha* (false, and at the same time unkind), and *Dhṛṣta* (shameless). Examples of these can be recognized or are specified in many Rājput paintings.

A character much more rarely met with is the *Viduṣaka* or clown, usually one of Kṛṣṇa's boy companions, or faithful attendant, but given to practical joking and humorous insinuations.[1]

[1] See note on No. CCLXIII (M. F. A., 17.2478), and p. 170.

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LIST OF PAINTINGS

1. EARLY SCHOOLS, MAINLY BEFORE 1630

A. RĀGAS AND RĀGIṆĪS

RĀJASTHĀNĪ

I

22.684. *Gandhārī Rāgiṇī.* A Śaiva ascetic seated on a tiger skin beside a lotus pond; beside him, seated on the ground, with raised knees supported by her arms, a female ascetic (*yoginī*) regarding the *swāmi*. Two disciples standing, with peacock-feather fly-whisks. Forest landscape with lotus lake; monkeys springing from tree to tree. Day scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), late sixteenth century.

Dimensions, .170 × .221 m. Ross Collection.

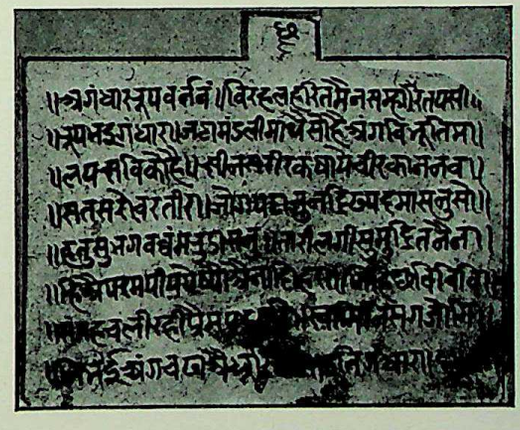
From the series described as S. 1 in J.A.O.S., XLIII, 1923 (where the text is discussed and compared with that of B. M. Or. Add. 2821). Another (*Bibhāsa Rāgiṇī*) of the same series is in the Fogg Art Museum.

Inscription at back in Nāgarī characters with some archaic forms:

6. A(tha) gaṁdhāra rūpa barnanaṁ:

(savaiyā):

Biraha laharita maina saṁhāra
tapasī rūpa bhai gaṁdhāra;
Jaṭā maṁḍalī māthai sohai,
aṁga bibhūti malayakṣa bikohai.
Kṣīna sarīra kaṣāye cīra,
kānana basata sarovara tīra.
Joga paṭā juna dṛiḍha padmāsanu,
sohatu subhaga baghāmaru ḍāsanu.
Tāri lagī sumudrita naina
hiai parama pīya pekhyau aina.



I (22.684): HINDĪ TEXT.

Doharā:

Tihi chabi bibi saṁgaha calī, rahī praima pada pūri
Svāmi nisa(ṁ)ga jogini bhaī, aṁga caṛhā(v)ai dhūri.
Iti Gaṁdhāra. 6.

Translation:

"Thus the relation of the form of Gandhāra:

The form of Gandhāra is of one devoted to *tapas* (austerity), distraught by the waves of the ocean of the pain of love,

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Lovely her head with its mass of tangled locks, and brightly shines the sandal paste smeared on her body.
With wasted frame in russet garb, dwelling in the forest by a lotus lake,
Supported by a *yoga paṭṭā*, firmly lotus-seated, fair and pure, seated on a tiger skin,
Gazing fixedly she seals her eyes upon the utter darling of her heart.
An adept of love's rule, redoubled beauty going with her;
Beside her Svāmi she has become a Yoginī, and smears ashes on her body.
Such is Gandhāra."

The first line of the *dohā* is a little obscure as a whole. By comparison with the *dohā* of *Vilāval Rāgiṇī* in British Museum Ms. Or. Add. 2281 f. 14 and l. 4 of the *caupai* of *Kedārau Rāgiṇī*, f. 36 in the same Ms. we might read

Tihi chabi bibi saṁga sahacarī, etc.

and render tentatively:

"With beauty redoubled, as a devoted wife, she follows to the end the way of love."

The situation recalls that of Pārvatī, practising austerities in order to regain the love of Śiva. Indian literature offers many instances of wives following their husbands in the adoption of a religious vocation.

The style, compositions, coloring, and texts of this series are similar to those of S. 2 (Nos. II–XVI of this Catalogue), but even more vigorous.

Published: C., *P. I. A.*, Plate LXII. Text in J. A. O. S., XLIII, 1923, with discussion.

PLATE I.

II

17.2371. *Bhairava Rāga:* a prince and lady conversing. Each holds a lotus of dalliance (*līlābja* or *līlā-kamala*). The lovers are attended by maids, and musicians with *vīṇās*. Night scene.

Rājasthānī (Bundelkhaṇḍ) about 1600.

Dimensions, .145 × .200 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left hand corner, 1; at back:

Prathama Rāgu Bhairau: dohā
Krīḍata krīḍā mahala (ca)hala mai, brīḍā taji maji bhāu,
Bhūli bhramu bhair(au) carata, bhramata ati rati-rāu.

"Disporting and dallying mid palaces and pleasures, abaṇdoning shame and waxing mellow
Bhairava moves in a whirlwind, insensate, the Lord of Rati (Kāmadeva) roams at large."

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RAJPUT PAINTINGS

The fifteen pictures II–XVI, M. F. A. **17.2371–2385** are derived from an illustrated *Rāgmālā* consisting originally of thirty-six pictures on the following scheme:

1. *Bhairava Rāga*, with Bhairavī, Naṭa, Mālaśrī, *Paṭamañjarī* and *Lalitā* Rāgiṇīs.
2. *Mālakauśa Rāga*, with *Gaurī*, *Khambhāvatī*, *Mālavī*, Rāmakalī, and *Gunakarī* Rāgiṇīs.
3. Hiṇḍola Rāga, with Vilāval, *Ṭoḍī*, Devagandhārī, *Deśākhya*, and Madhumādhavī Rāgiṇīs.
4. Dīpaka Rāga, with *Dhanāśrī*, Vasanta, Karṇāṭaka, *Varārī*, and Pūrvī Rāgiṇīs.
5. Megha-malāra Rāga, with Gujarī, Gaura (-malāra), Kakubha, *Vibhāsa*, and *Baṅgāla* Rāgiṇīs.
6. Śrī Rāga, with Pañcama, Sadh-malāra, Asāvarī, Kāmodinī, and *Kedārau* Rāgiṇīs.

The names printed in italics are those of the pictures in the M. F. A. series. The Coomaraswamy Collection originally included twenty-three of the series, and these were obtained in Delhi: two of these, *Vasanta* and *Sadh-malāra*, are now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, two, *Pañcama* and *Mālaśrī*, in the Freer gallery, and one, *Madhu-Mādhavī*, in the Cleveland Museum of Art. A *Bhairavī Rāgiṇī*, apparently of the same series is reproduced by Heath, *Indian art at the British Empire Exhibition*, 1924, Pl. VII, and Binyon, L., *Indian painting at Wembley: the retrospective exhibition*, Rūpam, no. 21.

The present series has been referred to as S. 2 in J. A. O. S., XLIII, 1923. Other examples are illustrated in C., *R. P.*,Pls. I–III, and there assigned on stylistic epigraphic and other grounds to the sixteenth century. Dr. Hermann Goetz in *Studien zur Rajputen Malerei*, "Ostasiatische Zeitschrift," X, 1922–23, pp. 54 and 56 has argued from the costume and facial angles that this series must be assigned to the beginning of the eighteenth century. In subsequent correspondence (1923) and in O. Z., N. F., 1, p. 121, Dr. Goetz assigns this series to about 1616–20 on account of the correspondence of the costume with that of the Mughal paintings of the school of Jahāngīr. The costume and armpit shadow show that they cannot in any case be later than this. I am still inclined to place them somewhat earlier; there is nothing in the costume or architecture that cannot as well or better be assigned to the latter part of the reign of Akbar as to that of Jahāngīr. To mention only two points: (1) the abundant use of large black pompoms is paralleled in the illustrations of the *Rasikapriyā* MS. which must certainly be dated about 1600, and in some Mughal paintings of the Akbar period, while the wearing of many large pompoms went out of fashion very early in the seventeenth century and (2) while it is true that in S. 2 the skirt of the *jāma'* lacks the pointed extensions which are characteristic of the Akbar fashion (*Rasikapriyā* MS.; portrait of Mān Siṅgh, C., *P. I. A.*, Pl. XC and *Hamza Nāma* illustrations, in Glück, C., *Die indische Miniaturen des Haemzae Romanes*, 1925) it should be observed that the pointed and the plain-skirted *jāma'* were simultaneously worn (*both* forms are represented in the *Rasikapriyā* MS. and in the Bankipore *Tārikh-i-khandān-i-tīmuriyah*). The plain *jāma'*, indeed, already occurs in Jaina MS. illustrations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (C., *C. I. C.*, Pt. IV, No. VI, Pl. XXII). I have

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therefore assigned S. 2 to "about 1600," and have described S. 1, represented by No. I of this Catalogue, which has a rather more 'primitive' aspect, as late sixteenth century. These are conservative estimates, in my view; S1 and S2 may well be of mid or late sixteenth-century date, and in any case are unmistakably pre-Mughal in style. See also No. XXXIX of this Catalogue, *infra*, and discussion of the *jāma'*, supra, p. 26.

As regards the texts: those of S. 1 (No. I of this Catalogue and *Bibhāsa* of the Fogg Art Museum), S. 2 (Nos. II–XVI of this Catalogue, with *dohās* only) and S. 4 (four examples of the same school, with *dohās* only, belonging to Mr. A. Ghose, Calcutta) are practically identical. From the Fogg Art Museum *Bibhāsa* text (quoted J. A. O. S., XLIII, 1923, p. 602) it would appear that the author was a poet by the name of Lachiman. A different text (but with occasional correspondences) is found in S. 3 (Nos. XLVIII and XLIX of this Catalogue), S. 5 (Nos. LII, etc., of this Catalogue) and in B. M. Or. Add. 2821.

PLATE II.

III

17.2372. *Paṭamañjarī Rāgiṇī:* a lady, seated on a couch, conversing with her confidante (*sakhī*). Night scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .147 × .195 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Bhairo 5.*

Inscription at back:

Paṭamaṁjarī Rāginī Bhairau kī; dohā;
Tātē sunī sati bhāu bhūli bhrama, bhairava dhasa-khijani cetau,
Cita cita so kubathai kayā, ghaṭai kāli āva naimitu.

"Hearing thereof, Satī loses her wits in a whirlwind, her heart is saturate with resentment towards Bhairava,
With grief is her body bent, she wastes away in the black fire (of jealousy)."

Same hand and series as Nos. II and IV–XVI.

PLATE II.

IV

17.2384. *Lalitā Rāgiṇī.* A lady sleeping on a couch in a palace chamber, a warrior with sword and shield approaching on the right. The visit of the enemy to the hero's wife while the hero is abroad. Day scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .148 × .198 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Bhairo 6.*

Inscription at back:

Lalita Rāgiṇī Bhairau kī:
Bāgai bīrā agara duti, rupu-vāri yatu mainu,
Phiri kaisāi ko kahi sakai, gaja gāmini sau baina.

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"A tiger hero, swaggering and truculent, seeming to be the slave of Love,
Who can tell when he returns, roaring like an elephant?"

Same hand and series as Nos. II, III, and V–XVI.

The text is practically identical with that of S. 4.

PLATE III.

V

17.2373. *Mālkauśa rāga.* Prince and princess seated in a palace, she offering him sweetmeats. Female attendants, one with a fly-whisk of peacock's feathers; a musician with a *vīṇā*. Night scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .146 × .196 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner *Mālakaustaka 1.*

Inscription at back:

Dutīya Rāgu Mālakaustaka:
Piya livāvana sahacarī, gaï tiā vanahāra
Chinu chinu juga bara jāta, tihi kāma caupa krita māra.

"The devoted wife went into the forest to bring her darling home;
Every moment that passed was like an aeon, whose love was killing her."

Same hand and series as Nos. II–IV and VI–XVI.

The text of S. 4 is practically the same, except in reading *krama* for *krita.*

PLATE III.

VI

17.2374. *Gaurī Rāgiṇī.* A lady picking flowers in the garden of a palace, lotus pool in the foreground. Day scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .145 × .195 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Mālakaustaka 2.*

Inscription at back:

Gaurī Rāginī Mālakaustaka kī,
Bāga āga āru-manau trīya, krīḍati līyai phūla,
Mālakaustu nṛpu āvanai, nāika para anukūla.

"Entering the garden, the modest woman playfully gathers flowers,
For the coming of her lord Mālkauś; a most devoted lady devoted to the hero."

Same hand and series as Nos. II–V and VII–XVI.

PLATE IV.

VII

17.2375. *Khambāvatī (Khamāj) Rāgiṇī.* A lady performing *Brahmā pūjā*: Brahmā is four-faced and four-handed, and is seated before the sacred fire, two hands holding books (representing the Four Vedas), and another hand with a spoon, feeding the flames

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with *ghī* (clarified butter); the lady making offerings to the sacred fire. To the right a palace with chamber and couch. Day scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .149 × .197 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Mālakaustaka 3.*

Inscription at back:

Khāmhāvatī Rāginī Malakaustaka kī:
Saphala hauna kau nāli-phalu, aṁjuli līnai nāri,
Caturānanu[1] *juja jaki rahai, rūpu nihāri nihāri.*

"Desiring a boon, the woman offers up a coconut with folded hands,
She makes offerings to Brahmā, and gazes again and again on the image."

Same hand and series as Nos. II–VI and VIII–XVI.

PLATE IV.

VIII

17.2376. *Mālavī Rāgiṇī.* A lady placing a rose-lotus garland round her lover's neck. To the left a palace with chamber and couch; to the right a tree with flowering creepers. Day or twilight scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .148 × .196 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Mālakaustaka 4.*

Inscription at back:

Mālava Rāginī Mālakaustaka kī:
Sukha saṁdhyā baṁdhyā bahuta, gai na sunahu varināri,
Yaha saṁdhyā sukha siddha sami, bidhanā racī savāri.

"Very great is the bliss of the union of him and her, such as has never been heard of:
This union is full and perfect joy, God brought it about by design."

I take *varināri* as *vara* and *nārī*, man and woman: the word can also mean 'beautiful woman.'

Same hand and series as Nos. II–VII and IX–XVI.

PLATE V.

IX

17.2377. *Gunakarī Rāgiṇī.* A lady of blue complexion picking flowers from a flowering creeper growing in a scarlet pot. To the right a palace, with chamber opening on the terrace, and containing a couch. Day scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .146 × .199 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Mālakaustaka 6.*

[1] *Caturānanu*, "four-faced," i. e. Brahmā.

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Inscription at back:

Gunakarī Rāginī Mālakaustaka kī:
Phūli sahita binati pahupa, maha cita abhirāma,
Mālakaustu nṛpu āvanai, karati seja kī sāma.

"Blooming like a flower herself, she gathers blossoms with her heart full of gladness,
For the coming of her lord Mālkaus, she duly prepares the bed."

Abhirāma seems here to be an adjective describing the heroine. See B. M. Or. Add. 26550, ff. 20 and 34, where the word, occurring as part of the text, has been mistakenly regarded as the name of the author of the poem (Blumhardt, J. F., *Catalogue of the Hindi, Panjabi and Hindustani MSS in the British Museum*, London, 1899, p. 61): the author's real name, Lāl, appears on ff. 10, 11, 12 (see p. 45, note 2).

Same hand and series as Nos. II–VIII and X–XVI.

PLATE V.

X

17.2378. *Ṭoḍi Rāgiṇī.* Woman with a *vīṇā* standing in a grove of trees with flowering creepers; two deer are attracted by the music, and one of these is feeding from her hand. Day scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .147 × .200 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner. *Hiṇḍola 3.*

Inscription at back:

Ṭoḍī Rāginī Himḍola kī:
Piya biyoga ati birahinī, bairāgina bairāga,
Manu biramāvati mṛgani, sau ṭoḍī ṭhāṛhī bāga.

"Divided from her darling, most unhappy in love, like a nun renouncing the world,
This Ṭoḍī abides in the grove and charms the hearts of the does."

PLATE VI.

XI

17.2379. *Deśākhyā Rāgiṇī.* An acrobat dancing with a fan, and a woman turning on a cross-bar. Day scene with rain.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .148 × .194 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Hiṇḍola 5.*

Inscription at back:

Desākha Rāginī Himḍola kī:
Guna āgari nāgari ca(tura), tanu sugaṁdha nanu sākha,
Rākhī cita caterīpati, imi debī desākha.

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"An accomplished and clever young woman, fragrant of body, in all its parts,
Fixing her heart upon her lord, such a lady is Deśākh."

Caterīpati I take as *catra-* or *catrīpati*, "lord of an umbrella," "lord," "king."

Same hand and series as Nos. II–X and XI–XVI.

PLATE VI.

XII

17.2380. *Dhanāśrī Rāgiṇī.* The confidante, of blue complexion, seated, drawing the likeness of a man according to the description of the heroine standing. Tree to right. Night scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .148 × .196 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Dīpak 2.*

Inscription at back:

Dhanāsrī Rāgīiṇ Dipaka kī:
Sama gāvati tākau sakhī, dhanāśrī ati sogu,
Rūpu ghaṭai ati deha kau, tī jani karai viyaugu.

"All the tale she tells her *sakhī*, Dhanāśrī is full of woe.
The beauty of her body is wasted all away, she displays the condition of 'love in separation.'"

Drawing the portrait of the lover is one of the traditional accomplishments of a confidante. Cf. the story of Aniruddha and Uṣā in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Prema Sāgara, ch. LXII).

Same hand and series as Nos. II–XI and XIII–XVI.

PLATE VII.

XIII

17.2381. *Varārī Rāgiṇī.* Love scene in a palace chamber, the lady with a yak-tail fly-whisk (*cāmara*). Tree to right. Night scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .146 × .197 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Dīpak 5.*

Barārī Rāgiṇī Dīpaka kī:
Sarasa barārī baini kā, cica raci chabi maina,
Tega tyāga krama netu bhau, phikiṁ na sarami naina.

"Sweet is the speech of Barārī — her beauty like Kāmadeva's,
Who has laid aside his arms, as the occasion demands — not lowering her eyes in shame."

I cannot give any meaning to *cica.*

Same hand and series as Nos. II–XII and XIV–XVI.

PLATE VII.

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XIV

17.2382. *Vibhāsa Rāgiṇī.* Heroine (Rati) seated on a bed on a palace terrace, the hero (Kāmadeva) aiming a flower arrow at a cock which is standing on the leaves of a plantain and crowing. Night scene (dawn).

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .14 × .19 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Megh-malāra 3.*

Inscription at back:

Bibhāsa Rāgiṇī Megha-malāra kī:
Saba nisi gaī surata rasa, krīḍata koka bilāsa,
Aikāke prajaṁka para, nidrā karati bilāsa.

(The last word is doubtless an error for *bibhāsa.*)

"The whole night passed away in love's delights and enjoyment of amorous dalliance.
Alone on the bed, Bibhāsa sleeps."

For another form of Bibhāsa, see No. L of this Catalogue. The hero who shoots an animal which disturbs the love scene is a motif not uncommon in Indian erotic paintings. Other examples in the M. F. A. collections included M. F. A. 17.2421 an illustration to the *Hamīr Haṭh,* where the Sulṭān is shooting a rat (this Catalogue, No. CXXXIII); the unexplained illustration to a Jaina MS., M. F. A. **17.2728,** No. 3 in C., *C. I. C.,* Pt. IV, Pl. XV, where the hero is shooting at a parrot. Similar illustrations are found in the *Hamīr Haṭh* series published by H. Sastri in *Journal of Indian Art,* Vol. I), London, 1916, where Mahimā is shooting a lion; and in a Jaina MS. in the Freer Gallery, like the M. F. A. **17.2278** above referred to. The shooting of a cock by Kāmadeva is peculiarly appropriate, as this bird, heralding the day, when dalliance is no longer permissible, may be regarded as his particular enemy.

The motif of shooting at the Beloved (illustrated in No. L of this Catalogue) is quite distinct from that of shooting at an intruding animal. It may be remarked that shooting motifs are common in European erotic art.

Same hand and series as Nos. II–XIII and XV, XVI.

PLATE VIII.

XV

17.2383. *Baṅgāla Rāgiṇī.* A man seated between two trees, reciting *mantras* and telling beads. Day scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .147 × .198 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Megh-malāra 6.*

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Inscription at back:

Baṁgāla Rāginī Megha-malāra kī:
Apanau pati basi karana kau, bahu nāika bara bhūpa,
Sāma maṁtru trīya japati hai, dhari muniyāra kau rūpu.
"With a view to enthrall her husband, a great and noble lord,
The woman repeats the *Sāma mantra*, wearing the aspect of a sage."

Same hand and series as Nos. II–XIV and XVI.

The text is practically identical with that of S. 4.

PLATE VIII.

XVI

17.2385. *Kedārā Rāgiṇī.* Two persons seated on a terrace; one a yogī seated on a tiger skin, the other a musician with a *vīṇā*. Night scene.

Rājasthānī (probably Bundelkhaṇḍ), about 1600.

Dimensions, .14 × .19 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in upper left-hand corner: *Śrī Rāga 6.*

Inscription at back:

Kedārau Rāginī Śrī Rāga kī;
Suni suni nāda kuraṁga dhuni, thakyau nisākara jāni
Birahu badhyau kedāra kau, sukyau kari lahau bihānu
"Ever hearkening to the calling of the deer, she sees that the moon is weary (i. e., dawn is at hand):
Love sickness is killing Kedārā; she looks to the dawn for comfort."

British Museum Ms. Or. Add. 2821, f. 36 gives a variant of the same *dohā*. The motif seems to be that Kedāra has become an ascetic, despairing of reunion with her darling; but he unexpectedly returns at dawn. Our picture illustrates only the first half of the *dohā:* but the British Museum picture referred to shows the returned husband.

Same hand and series as Nos. II–XV.

PLATE IX.

B. EPIC

PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

XVII

17.2745. The Siege of Laṅkā: Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa, Hanuman, etc., with an army of bears and monkeys encamped before the city walls, two *rākṣasa* spies (Śuka and Sāraṇa), detected by Vibhīṣaṇa, held prisoner. Painting in gold and colors.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .820 × .585 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with a lengthy extract in Nāgarī characters from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. The extract concludes with the rubricated passage: — *Ityārtha Rāmāyaṇe Maharṣi-*

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Vālmīki-viracite Śrī-Rāma-carite caturviṁśati sāhasrām sāṁhitāyām Laṅkākāṇḍe Vibhīṣaṇena Śuka-Sāraṇa-grahaṇam Śuka-Sāraṇau prati Śrī-Rāma-Candra-saroṣa-vākyam:

"Thus the tale of the multifarious *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, of twenty-four thousand verses, the Laṅkā-section, the capture of Śuka and Sāraṇa by Vibhīṣaṇa, and the stern speech made by Śrī Rāma Candra to Śuka and Sāraṇa."

A series unique in size (33 × 34 inches) and historical importance, strong in color and bold but not refined in draughtsmanship, and recalling the mural art from which it undoubtedly derives. The series may originally have consisted of a hundred or more sheets; another painting and several drawings from the same series are in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Several examples are endorsed with lengthy extracts from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, written in bold Nāgarī characters and rubricated, but in the drawings the names of personages represented are indicated in several instances in Ṭākṛī script. The paintings have red margins, and as is often the case with Jamū pictures, portions of the picture intrude upon the margin. Above the high horizon there is always a narrow strip of cloudy sky.

Published: C., *R. P.*, pp. 17, 18, 59, 60, and Pl. XXI (in color); Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, No. 96: C., *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXXI.

Same hand and series as Nos. XVIII–XXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2746–2756**). PLATE X.

XVIII

17.2746. The Siege of Laṅkā: Rāma encamped before the city with the army of bears and monkeys, and their leaders. Rāma in conversation with Vibhīṣaṇa; a *rākṣasa* spy held prisoner, another (Sārdula) flying through the air to make his report. Rāvaṇa in council with his ministers within the city. Painting in gold and colors.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .830 × .600 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

As before, the spies, originally disguised as monkeys, have been detected by Vibhīṣaṇa. In this picture and the last (**17.2745**) Vālmīki's descriptive passages are vividly realized: the monkeys, yellow or tawny, and some white with coppery faces "innumerable groups going to and fro, leaping and resting by turns . . . long-tailed, roaring like mighty clouds, irresistible as tigers . . . these are gazing upon Laṅkā, as if to lay her waste . . . and these whom thou seest here, like mighty banks of sable clouds, like dark collyrium, puissant, innumerable, dwellers in the mountains, in the countryside and by the rivers, these dread bears are marching upon thee, O King . . . lo, one like to a mountain, Dhumrā's younger brother, a lord of the bears, like to his brother in beauty, greater in powers. And this captain of leaders, Jambavān; mild is he, obedient to his superiors, and fierce in fight."

Published: C., *R. P.*, pp. 17, 18, 89, 60, and 79 (reproducing the text with which the picture is endorsed) and Pl. XXII.

Same hand and series as Nos. XVII and XIX–XXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2745** and **2747–2756**). PLATE XI.

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XIX

17.2747. The Siege of Laṅkā: Rāvaṇa visiting Sītā, in the Aśoka grove, where she is guarded by *rākṣasīs:* the *rākṣasa* Vidyājjibha, at Rāvaṇa's command, exhibits a counterfeit severed head of Rāma, and his bow. Painting in gold and colors.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .825 × .600 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. XVII, XVIII, and XX–XXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2745, 2746** and **2748–2756**).

As Rāvaṇa is subject to a curse, involving his death, should he ever again take a woman by force without her consent, he makes every effort to win her, and to this end endeavors to persuade her of Rāma's death; but even though convinced of this she remains unmoved.

PLATE XII.

XX

17.2748. The Siege of Laṅkā: Rāvaṇa seated in darbār with his ministers, Sītā in the Aśoka grove guarded by *rākṣasīs.* Painting in gold and colors.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .825 × .595 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. XVII–XIX and XXI–XXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2745–2747, 2740** and **2749–2756**).

PLATE XII.

XXI

17.2749. The Siege of Laṅkā: Rāvaṇa seated in conference with a *rākṣasa* captain, the *rākṣasa* army without. Painting in gold and colors.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .825 × .580 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. XVII–XX and XXII–XXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2745–2748** and **2750–2756**).

PLATE XIII.

XXII

17.2750. The Siege of Laṅkā: Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, etc., encamped with the army of bears and monkeys on wooded hills before the city. Unfinished painting, ground yellow.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .825 × .600 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. XVII–XXI and XXIII–XXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2745–2749** and **2751–2756**).

PLATE XIII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XXIII

17.2751. The Siege of Laṅkā: bears and monkeys fighting with *rākṣasas* on the city walls. Drawing.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .830 × .590 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. XVII–XXII and XXIV–XXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2745–2750** and **2752–2756**).

PLATE XIV.

XXIV

17.2752. The Siege of Laṅkā: *rākṣasas* fighting from behind the clouds, wounding the bears and monkeys with a rain of arrows. Ramā and Lakṣmaṇa unwounded. Drawing.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .810 × .585 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. XVII–XXIII and XXV–XXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2745–2751** and **2753–2756**).

XXV

17.2753. The Siege of Laṅkā: battle of bears and monkeys with the *rākṣasas*. Drawing.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .830 × .595 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed in Ṭākrī characters:

Saṁkula jundha (*yuddha?*) *rābhodā* (*?*)

"Vehement hand to hand conflict."

Same hand and series as Nos. XVII–XXIV and XXVI–XXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2745–2752** and **2754–2756**).

XXVI

17.2754. The Siege of Laṅkā: battle of bears and monkeys with the *rākṣasas*. In the upper part, Indrajit flying before Aṅgaḍa. Drawing.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .830 × .595 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published in part: C., *R. P.*, Fig. 7 (Aṅgaḍa, wrongly described as Hanuman). The names Indrajit and Aṅgaḍa are inscribed in Ṭākrī characters.

Same hand and series as Nos. XVII–XXV and XXVII–XXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2745–2753** and **2755, 2756**).

PLATE XIV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

XXVII

17.2755. The Siege of Laṅkā: *rākṣasas* fighting from behind the clouds, wounding the bears and monkeys with a rain of arrows. Some of the arrows changing to serpents. Rāma and Lakṣmana covered with arrows and bound hand and foot by the serpents. Drawing.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .815 × .580 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. XVII–XXVI and XXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2745–2754** and **2756**).

XXVIII

17.2756. The Siege of Laṅkā: *rākṣasas* fighting from behind the clouds, wounding the bears and monkeys with a rain of arrows. Some of the arrows changing to serpents. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa covered with arrows and bound hand and foot by the serpents. Drawing.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .820 × .590 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: C., *R. P.*, p. 60 and Pl. XXIV.

Same hand and series as Nos. XVII–XXVII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2745–2755**).

The subject is similarly treated in the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs of columns of the Virupākṣa temple at Paṭṭakadal, ca. 740 A.D.

PLATE XV.

XXIX

17.2757. Part of portfolio which contained the large *Rāmāyaṇa* drawings: pasteboard, one side covered with red cloth. Contains parts of a very large Mahiṣa-mardinī cartoon, punched for use as a stencil.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .61 × .845 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

XXX

17.2758. The Siege of Laṅkā: the city gate, with *rākṣasa* guards. Second drawing in black over red.

Dimensions, .188 × .174 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Probably by the same hand as C., *R. P.*, Pl. XXV.

PLATE XV.

XXXI

17.2770. Bhīmasena: a man striding forward, carrying a spear pointed at both ends. Part of red border cut away.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

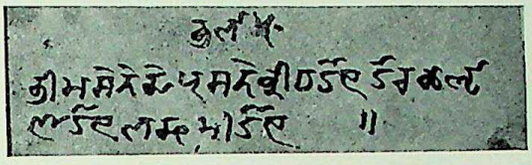
Dimensions, .093 × .149 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with Ṭākrī inscription: *Bhalā 50:*

Bhīmasene-de prasane brīdha hoe hora kālyāṇā hoe lakṣmī hoe.

"If Bhīmasena be favorable there will be increase, and good fortune and wealth will result."

Nos. XXXI–XXXVIII and XLI–XLVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2763–78**) are all from one series, probably by the same hand. The subjects of the illustrations



XXXI. Ṭākrī Text

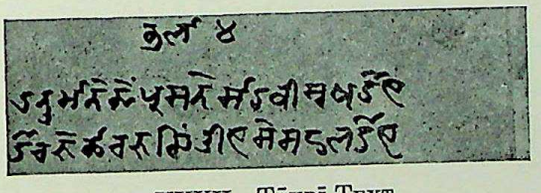
include deities, epic heroes, and miscellaneous. The series may once have amounted to more than a hundred items, as the highest number given in the inscription is 98; the phraseology of some of the texts (*lābha hoe, dukha hoe, sukha hoe,* etc.) suggests that the whole must have formed a kind of pack, used for divination.

XXXII

17.2771. Hanuman with a mace striding across a mountain landscape. Part of red border cut away.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .093 × .139 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.



XXXII. Ṭākrī Text

Reverse with Ṭākrī inscription: *Bhalā 4:*

Hanumāne-dē prasane sāhabī sukha hoe, hora je kāraja cintī ese sahala hoe.

"If Hanuman be favorable, every pleasure will follow and the result will be the fulfillment of desires and smoothing away of anxieties."

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI, XXXIII–XXXVIII and XLI–XLVIII in this Catalogue. Plate XVI.

XXXIII

17.2772. Rāvaṇa, seated figure with ten heads and twenty arms, holding weapons.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .092 × .146 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Inscription on red border in white Ṭākrī characters *Rāvaṇa.*

Reverse, with Ṭākrī inscription: *Maṁdā 56:*

Rāvaṇe-de prasane dī . . . hoe.

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI, XXXII, XXXIV–XXXVIII and XLI–XLVIII in this Catalogue.

PLATE XVI.

C. PAURĀṆIK

PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

XXXIV

17.2764. Śukra (the planet Venus): a male figure, four-armed, with sword and shield, rosary and water pot, riding on a peacock.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .094 × .139 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed on red border in white Ṭākrī characters: *Sukra.*

Reverse with inscription in Ṭākrī characters: *Bhalā 1:*

Sukre-de prasane karaja sidha hoe, hora anabhoga, hora sukha hoe.

"If Śukra is favorable your desires will be fulfilled and enjoyment and pleasure will result."

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXIII, XXXV–XXXVIII and XLI–XLVIII in this Catalogue.

XXXV

17.2765. Candrama (the moon): male figure riding on a black buck.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .103 × .146 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed on red border in white Ṭākrī characters: *Caṁdrama.*

Reverse with defaced inscription in Ṭākrī characters: . . . . *4.*

Caṁdrame-de prasane . . . lābha hoe, hora su . . . sobha

"If the Moon be favorable, there will be profit, and beauty will result."

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXIV, XXXVI–XXXVIII and XLI–XLVIII in this Catalogue.

PLATE XVII.

XXXVI

17.2766. Brahmā: four-faced and four-armed, holding the Vedas, *kuśa* grass, and water pot, riding on a swan (*haṁsa*). Red border partly cut away.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .095 × .138 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Reverse with defaced inscription in Ṭākrī characters: *Bhalā 80:*

Bramhe-de prasane . . . bha hoe

sukha hoe, . . . lābha . . . hoe

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXV, XXXVII, XXXVIII and XLI–XLVIII in this Catalogue.

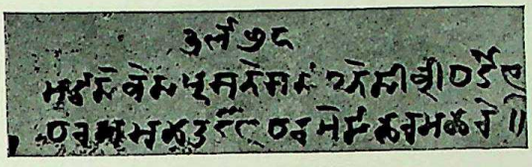
PLATE XVII.

XXXVII

17.2767. Bhairava (Śiva): blue-complexioned, four-armed, with skull cup, sword, *triśūla*, and *ḍamaru*, seated on a tiger skin. Yellow border.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .101 × .144 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.



XXXVII. ṬĀKRĪ TEXT

Reverse with inscription in Ṭākrī characters: *Bhalā 98.*

Mahādeve-de prasane sadā dhne-dī brīdha hoe,

dharama mukata hoe dharame-dā karama kare

"If Mahādeva be favorable, there will be continual increase, you will be freed from *dharma*, but you should practise *dharma*."

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXVI, XXXVIII and XLI–XLVIII in this Catalogue.

PLATE XVII.

XXXVIII

17.2769. Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu): with a devotee 'taking the dust of his feet.' The divinity is of blue complexion, four-armed, with conch, mace, discus and lotus. The formula S. G. C. P., however, is not correct for Nārāyaṇa: S. G. P. C. would be correct for Kṛṣṇa, who is likewise suggested by the peacock *mukuṭa*.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions: .101 × .147 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in white Ṭākrī characters on red border:

Narayaṇa.

Reverse with defaced inscription in Ṭākrī characters: *Bhalā 23:*

Nārāyaṇe-de prasane aneka bha . . ., hora bhuka . . . . hoe

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXVII and XLI–XLVIII in this Catalogue.

PLATE XVI.

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

D. Kṛṣṇa Līlā

Rājasthānī or Gujarātī

XXXIX

25.426. Rādhā with two companions entering a walled garden, where Kṛṣṇa is seated by a bed awaiting her. There is a swarm of bees about her head, and flying between her and Kṛṣṇa; monkeys and birds in the trees. The women are dressed in *colī* (not very short), flowered skirt, and *añcala*, with black pompoms attached to armlets and wrists; Kṛṣṇa in transparent muslin *jāma'*, opening at left with jabots, and worn over tight muslin trousers; the skirt of the *jāma'* apparently with points, the *kamarband* with long ends; the knees supported by a *yoga paṭṭa*. Color brilliant and well co-ordinated.

Southern Rājasthānī or Gujarātī, early sixteenth century.

Dimensions, .185 × .263 m. Harriet Otis Cruft Fund.

Prose: Gujarātī inscription in Nāgarī characters, partly destroyed:

. . . . *lī paharana . . . āi sakha sāthai aneka chai: jāi rī bela bījī-bela sagalī sā(tha): agarī bāsa valīchā, jhīna rādhā-jī ra prema latāi hai: dhāyā ṭhākura-jī eka dhyāna māraga [herai ?] chai: sakhi āge padharāvati hui: bāga mahe aneka brakha chai.*

". . . many companions coming with her; creeper and vine together; before them is a garden, the slender Radhā-jī is a branch of love; Kṛṣṇa-jī is looking for her coming, as if in a trance; one of her companions leads her forward; in the garden there are countless trees."

At the back is written an (owner's?) name, apparently *Dāḍho-jī Pāre Phauṁgar* which sounds like a Dakkhanī name.

This lyrical treatment of the Kṛṣṇa theme is done in a style very closely related to that of the earliest *Rāgmāla* series in this Catalogue. The resemblances are too evident to need special mention; on the other hand, the eye in people is represented as completely seen as in Gujarātī painting of the fifteenth century. As regards costume, the women's skirts are more elaborately flower-patterned than in any other Rājasthānī pictures, the *colī* is rather long, and this would be an early feature; the same applies to the pointed skirt of Kṛṣṇa's *jāma'*, but this depends on an interpretation of the drawing which cannot be regarded as indisputable. As elsewhere, the black pompoms are a relatively early characteristic. The representation of the *khijr* (wild date palm) is unusual.

The language (*chai*, etc.) is Gujarātī. The same *chai* is used in the Jaina illustrations. The lyrical theme suggests a mention of the recently discovered Gujarātī *Vasanta Līlā* scroll fully illustrated in the style of the contemporary Jaina MSS, and dated at Ahmadābād, Saṁvat 1508, equivalent to 1451 A.D.[1] In this MS. the most abbreviated formulae

[1] Mehta, N. C., *Indian painting in the fifteenth century.* Rūpam, 22–23, 1925; Gangoly, O. C., *Vasanta Vilāsa: a new document of Indian painting*, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, N. F., 2, 1925.

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of draughtsmanship are used; there is also a relationship with the Jain school of painting, which may perhaps be regarded as a kind of southern or Gujarātī dialect of Rajput. In several pictures the bees (which play a large part in Indian lyrical rhetoric) are represented; I do not know of any other Indian painting, except the one now described, in which this is the case. Here the 'bee-line' recalls the *Karpuramañjarī*, 11, 6 "Before her flies a glance, like a line of bees." On the whole I do not think the arguments derived from costume, solely, to be precise, from the *jāma'*, preclude a dating of our piece nearer to 1550 than 1600.

Published, M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 142.

PLATE XVIII and Frontispiece [color plate].

RĀJASTHĀNĪ

XL

23.444. Fragment, representing a landscape with trees, cows, a river in the foreground, and kneeling figures of kings. The cows in gold.

Possibly an episode from the *Mahābhārata;* or a Vaiṣṇava subject. Probably about 1600 or very early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .11 × .217 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XIX.

E. MISCELLANEOUS

1. PAHĀṚĪ

XLI

17.2763. Deer fighting under a tree; painted over another version of the same subject.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .066 × .143 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with Ṭākrī text, not deciphered but containing the word *lajada*, 'fighting.'

Published: C., *R. P.*, Pl. XXVIII b and vol. 1, pp. 17, 18; C., *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXII.

A similar composition occurs in the *Manāfī al Ḥayawān* of the Morgan Library, New York: the accompanying text merely describes the peculiarities of the 'mountain ox.'

A similar composition is also found in British Museum Ms. 18579, f. 63 a, where it illustrates the Story of the Devotee who had his Robe of Honor Stolen (see Eastwick, *Anvar-i-Suhaili*, 1854, pp. 103 ff.).

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXVIII and XLII–XLVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2764–2778**).

PLATE XX.

XLII

17.2768. Ascetic or student (*brahmācārī*): Brāhmaṇ youth with spear and water pot. Numbered *Bhalā 72*.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Dimensions, .100 × .145 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in white Ṭākrī characters on red border *Bramhācārī.*

Reverse with Hindī text in Ṭākrī characters:

Bramhācārie-de prāsāṇe bidyā lābha hoe

Sukha hoe dūrba(?) *lābha hoe . . . sukha . . .hoe*

Brahmācārya is the continent and devoted life of the student or ascetic, and one who leads such a life is called a *Brahmācārī.*

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXIX, XLI, and XLIII–XLVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2763–2767** and **2769–2778**).

XLIII

17.2773. Bed, in a chamber, the roof with five domes. Numbered *Bhalā 74.*

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .102 × .145 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with Hindī text in Ṭākrī characters, beginning *Sajā-de prasaṇe*, the rest illegible (*sajā* = *sajja* or bed).

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXVIII, XLI, XLII and XLIV–XLVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2763–2772** and **2774–2778**).

XLIV

17.2774. Jailor and criminal. Numbered *Maṁdā 53.*

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .096 × .141 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Ṭākrī inscription in white on red border illegible.

Reverse with Hindī text in Ṭākrī characters:

Kubudhīe-de prasane burā karama karī karīe . . . karīe burī mota hoe

"If a depraved person be gratified, he will make you do bad deeds and die an evil death."

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXVIII, XLI–XLIII and XLV–XLVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2763–2773** and **2775–2778**).

XLV

17.2775. The friends: two young men seated on a *dari*, one offering the other betel.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .101 × .148 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in white Ṭākrī characters on red border *Mitra* (friend).

Reverse with inscription in Ṭākrī characters, illegible.

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXVIII, XLI–XLIV and XLVI–XLVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2763–2774** and **2776–2778**).

PLATE XX.

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RAJPUT PAINTINGS

XLVI

17.2776. A Brāhmaṇ: a man seated on a *dari* under a tree (weeping willow type). Numbered *Bhalā 70.*

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .095 × .126 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in white Ṭākrī characters on red border *Brāhamaṇa vīdava.*

Reverse with Ṭākrī inscription beginning *Vipare-dẽ prasaṇe.* (*vipra = brāhmaṇa*)

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXVIII, XLI–XLV, XLVII, XLVIII, in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2763–2775** and **2777, 2778**).

PLATE XX.

XLVII

17.2777. Paṇḍit with a book.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .093 × .140 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with inscription in Ṭākrī characters, partly illegible.

. . . lābha hoe

Sukha hoe, . . . bhalī hoe paṁḍuta hoe

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXVIII, XLI–XLVI and XLVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2763-2776** and **2778**).

PLATE XVI.

XLVIII

17.2778. Donkey beside a tree, braying. Numbered 52.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .093 × .143 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with Hindī inscription in Ṭākrī characters:

Gadhe-de prasane sadā dukha hoe sukha hoe.

"If a donkey be pleased, there will be both sorrow and joy."

Same hand and series as Nos. XXXI–XXXVIII and XLI–XLVII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2763–2777**).

PLATE XX.

2. RĀJASTHĀNĪ

XLIX

25.526. Design, fruits and leaves of lotus (*Nelumbium speciosum*) probably part of a picture border.

Rājasthānī, perhaps sixteenth to seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .159 × .080 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

2. LATER SCHOOLS, AFTER 1630 AND MAINLY LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A. Rāgas and Rāginīs

(1) Rājasthānī

L

15.51. *Vibhāsa Rāgiṇī.* Kāmadeva aiming a flower arrow at Rati, who reclines on a bed on the terrace of a palace; a maid at the window fanning her. With Hindī inscription. Rājasthānī, about 1630.

Dimensions, .172 × .245 m. Ross Collection.

Text of the Hindī inscription:

Rāganī Vibhāsa: Copaī:

Megha malāra kāma gati kīnhī,
megha vibhāsa aṁka bharī līnhī;
Pauhaupa dhanukha[1] *bāna kara līyau,*
rati[2] *saṁgrāma bīcāratī hīyai;*
Vaha neha ura hāthī lagāvai,
badana morī pīya pema upāvai;
Dou balīvaṁta dou jujhakārī,
rahe samāna kou nahī hārī;
Sughara rūpa doū unihārī,
navala trīyā pīya jobanavārī.

Dohā:

Suṇīyata kathā ju kāma kī, riti bīnoda pada saṁgaḥ,
Sarasa naina kari nīrakhie, sarasai sarasa-hī raṁga. 24.

"Megha malāra has entered on the path of love, and the clouds have assumed full measure of glory,
Love has taken bow and arrow in hands, and Desire is considering in her heart the battle of love,
She lays a loving hand on her breast, and turning her face, awakens her darling's love.
Both are hardy and valiant fighters, both are well matched and neither yields,
Both are alike in beauty of form, the tender girl and the lusty youth.
Hear the tale of love, the passionate pleasure of union,
Only if you look with the eyes of love will you see the true tincture of love!"

[1] *Pauhaupa dhanukha* = *puṣpa-dhanu*, 'Flower-bow,' i.e. Kāmadeva.
[2] Rati, the wife of Kāmadeva.

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A similar composition and almost identical text are found in British Museum MS. Or. Add. 2821, f. 29. The texts are discussed in J. A. O. S., XLIII, 1923.

The *Bibhāsa Rāgiṇī*, M. F. A. **17.2382**, No. XIV of this Catalogue (S. 2), and that of S. 1, in the Fogg Art Museum, differ in theme and text, but correspond in the fact that Kāmadeva and Rati are the hero and heroine, and in the fact that the former in both cases is shooting a flower arrow, though at different objects. Cf. No. XIV, *supra*.

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *The Dance of Siva*, New York, 1917 and London 1924, and in C., *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXVIII (in color), where the hero and heroine are incorrectly referred to as Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

Same hand and series (S. 3) as M. F. A. **15.53**, No. LI of this Catalogue.

PLATE XXI.

LI

15.53. *Madhu-mādhavī Ragīṇī.* A woman feeding a peacock in a palace garden; attended by maids. With monsoon clouds and lightning. Hindī inscription.

Rājasthānī, about 1630.

Dimensions, .168 × .250 m. Ross Collection.

Same hand and series (S. 3) as M. F. A. 15.51, No. L of this Catalogue.

Text of the Hindī inscription:

Rāganī Madhu-mādhavī: copaī:

Madhu-mādhavi rūpa nīdhīnā nāri,
harita barana pahairai tana sārī;
Bhāvai bheda bhuṣaṇa aṁga nīke,
dekhi koṭi muni saji hoī phīke;
Nikasī mahala bārī mahi ṭhāḍhī,
nīla jalada umagī ghaṭā gāṛhī;
Madhura madhura dhuṇī garajata āvai,
dāmiṇī camakī raba jhalāvai;
Kuralahī[1] *khaga' ānaṁda suravāṇī,*
dekhi surījhī rahī tihī rāṇī.

Dohā:

Pīya mīlāpa ko phula tana, ṭhāḍhī karata vīnoda,
Nṛpahiṁ ḍola kai manabasī, tāthai mana mahī moda. 18.

Translation:

"Madhu-mādhavī is a treasury of beauty among women, she wears a green robe over all her body,

Many kinds of jewels adorn her limbs, whom to behold, a myriad sages pale and faint.

[1] *Kuralahī=krīdahīṁ*, 'are sporting,' as in the *Padumāvatī* of Muḥammad Jaisī, stanza 33 (ed. Grierson and Dvivedi, Calcutta, 1911).

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Coming from the palace, she stands in the garden; heavy black clouds are gathering joyfully,
The sweet, sweet rumbling of thunder is heard, flashes of lightning light up the sky,
Birds are disporting with many notes; the princess, beholding, stands there delighted.
Her body blossoms like a flower for the meeting with her darling, she stands entranced,
Dreaming of her lord's embrace, there is bliss in her heart."

The texts of S. 3 (Nos. XVII and XVIII of this Catalogue) differ from those of S. 1, S. 2, and S. 4, but correspond with those of B. M. Or. Add. 2821.

An almost identical picture and text are found in British Museum Ms. Or. Add. 2821, f. 18. Both texts are discussed in J. A. O. S., vol. XLIII, 1923.

The *Madhu-mādhavī Rāgiṇī* of S. 2 (C., *R. P.*, Pl. I) and that of S. 1 (text published in J. A. O. S., *loc. cit.*) representing an *Abhisārikā* heroine, differ in theme and text; but correspond in the association with peacocks, and in some phrases of the text.

The two pictures of this Catalogue Nos. L and LI (M. F. A. **15.51** and **15.53**) illustrate the growing refinement which appears in seventeenth-century Rājasthānī painting as a result of Mughal influence. There is already the beginning of a transition from painting to drawing, from color to outline, as essential medium. The later stage, in which feeling and vitality are much reduced is well exemplified in B. M. Ms. Or. Add. 2821.

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *The Dance of Siva*, New York, 1917 and London, 1924, and C., *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXIX.

Same hand and series (S. 3) as No. L (M. F. A. **15.51**) of this Catalogue.

PLATE XXII.

LII

17.68. (*Varārī?*) *Rāgiṇī.* The heroine with hands clasped over her head, with attendants on a palace terrace, field and trees beyond. The position of the hands (*karkata hasta*) indicates amorous longing.

Rājasthānī, probably Jaipur, mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .211 × .313 m. Harriet Otis Cruft Fund.

Same hand and series as Nos. LIII–V in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.72**, **17.2911** and **17.2912**).

Another of this series in the British Museum, and one belonging to Dr. Coomaraswamy.

In this series, which may be referred to as series five (S. 5), the Hindī text superscribed on each has been painted over with clouds, which must have been done almost at once after the rest of the work was complete, perhaps as an afterthought. Portions of the text of *Kakubha Rāgiṇī* (No. LV) can be made out, the words *keli karāhi, sarabara . . . deha dhyāna* sufficing to identify it with that of *Kakubha Rāgiṇī* in British Museum

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Ms. Or. 2821, with which the composition and style likewise correspond, though the British Museum Ms. is slightly later and not quite so well executed.

PLATE XXIII.

LIII

17.72. *Hiṇḍola Rāga.* Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā in a jewelled golden swing, attended by many other *gopīs* in a grove by a lotus lake, with many peacocks.

Rājasthānī, probably Jaipur, mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .205 × 305 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. LII, LIV, LV in this Catalogue.

PLATE XXIV.

LIV

17.2911. *Khambāvatī (or Khamāj) Rāgiṇī.* A lady performing Brahmā *pūjā*: Brahmā is four-faced and four-handed, and is seated before the sacred fire, holding a book (the Four Vedas) rosary and sacrificial spoon. The lady kneeling with hands clasped in worship (*añjali hasta*). Palace terrace with musicians below; characteristic Rājput architecture.

Rājasthānī, probably Jaipur, mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .186 × .284 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced, C., *R. P.*, Pl. VI.

Same hand and series as Nos. LII, LIII, LV in this Catalogue.

For similar representations cf. No. VII in this Catalogue.

PLATE XXV.

LV

17.2912. *Kakubha Rāgiṇī.* Lady with a garland in each hand with dancing peacocks: two musicians to the right, a shrine on the hill above, with two pilgrims. Lotus pool in foreground.

Rājasthānī, mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .180 × .278 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. LII–LIV in this Catalogue. See No. LII.

PLATE XXVI.

LVI

17.2909. *Khambāvatī (Khamāj) Rāgiṇī.* A lady performing Brahmā *pūjā*. Brahmā seated on a terrace before the sacred fire, four-faced and four-armed, holding the Four Vedas and two sacrificial spoons, the lady kneeling with hands clasped in worship (*añjali hasta*). In the background a pavilion with heavy cornice (*chajja*).

Rājasthānī, mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .163 × .217 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XXVII.

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LVII

17.2910. *Kakubha Rāgiṇī.* A woman standing in landscape, holding a garland in each hand. A pool in the foreground, with birds and a fox, mountainous background showing Persian influence.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .140 × .204 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XXVIII.

LVIII

17.2913. *Āsāvarī Rāgiṇī.* A woman seated on lotus petals playing the *bīn* or *nāgasara* in a grove of trees at the foot of a hill surmounted by a shrine. Cobras are attracted by the music.

Rājasthānī, probably Jaipur, later seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .237 × 290 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed in Persian characters, *Rāgiṇī Asābarī*, and in Nāgarī characters with *i* verse from a *Rāgmālā*:

Rāganī Āsāvarī: 35: dohā:
Pīya magū aṁcāhai asāvarī, caṛhi maliyācala chāī:
Sarpa sabai śrīkhaṇḍa taji, rahe deha lapaṭāī
"Āsāvarī is longing for her husband, and climbs the Malaya mountains,
All the snakes desert their sandal trees, and writhe and coil their bodies."

A similar composition and text in British Museum Ms. Or. Add. 2821, f. 35.

PLATE XXIX.

LIX

17.2914. *Mālkauśa Rāga.* Prince and princess seated, listening to two female musicians.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .180 × .250 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed with Hindī text from a *Rāgmālā*:

Sātvī Rāg Mālakos: chand paddharī:
Manijaṭīta siṁhāsana pai visāla daṁpati sarūpa sukhamāra sāla
Ḍhārai sucaura sakhī cāru cāra, Yaha Rāga Mālakosaha vicāra.
Iti Mālakosa Rāga
"On a beautiful gem-set lion throne, lord and lady in a fair palace;
Four lovely *sakhīs* plying the fan: know this is Mālkos Rāga.
Thus Mālkos Rāga."

This picture is almost identical, except for reversal from right to left, with British Museum Ms. Or. Add. 26550, folio 7. The wording of the text is different, but the sense is similar.

PLATE XXX.

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LX

17.3041. *Lālītā Rāgiṇī.* Girl on a bed, a man with two garlands standing beside her. A tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .095 × .141 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XXX.

LXI

17.3050. *Rāmakalī Rāgiṇī.* Youth, accompanied by the *sakhī* or confidante of the heroine, kneeling at the feet of the heroine; architectural background.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .117 × .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed in Nāgarī characters: *11 Rāmakalī.*

LXII

17.3051. *Rāgiṇī?* Lady reclining on a couch and playing a *vīṇā*, the *sakhī* seated beside the bed. Architectural background.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .131 × .159 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

LXIII

17.3061. *Rāgiṇī.* Girl seated with cobra; drawing, probably a sketch for *Asāvarī Rāgiṇī.*

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .103 × .135 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

LXIV

17.3067. *Dhanāśrī Rāgiṇī:* tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .104 × .154 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed *Ghātāsarī* (for Dhanāśrī) in Nāgarī characters.

(1a) RĀJASTHĀNĪ WITH MUGHAL INFLUENCE

LXV

17.71. *Bhairava Rāga.* Śiva as Bhairava seated on a bed attended by three girls, one of whom is massaging his arm.

Under Mughal influence. Early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .202 × .292 m. Harriet Otis Cruft Fund.

Ultramarine and gold are dominant in the unusual color scheme. The painted architecture recalls the decoration of such buildings as the Rang Maḥall at Delhi (Arch. Sur.

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Ind., Ann. Rep., 1907–08). With Urdū inscription in Persian characters in gold on the blue sky: *Prathama rāga Bhairava habāskarī shaba bāqī, awal:* 'The first rāga, Bhairava, the hour of dawn, while night still lingers. First.'

The figure of Śiva at first suggests Kṛṣṇa by its blue color, but the hair dressed in a knot (*jaṭā*) is characteristic for Śiva as a yogi, and in any case it is Śiva as Bhairava who should be represented. Bhairava is dark complexioned; blue and black are interchangeable in Indian iconography and color terminology.

Same hand and series as No. LXVI (M. F. A. **17.69**). Two others of the same series belong to Dr. Coomaraswamy.

PLATE XXXI.

LXVI

17.69. *Varārī Rāgiṇī.* Heroine seated on a *caukī*, with hands clasped overhead; maid or confidante in attendance.

With Mughal influence, early seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .203 × .294 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

With Urdū inscription in Persian characters in gold on the blue sky:

Rāginī Barārī waqt shaba bāqī hakīlās bahīr din ke.

"*Rāgiṇī Barārī*, the hour of night when day is ended but twilight still lingers."

The position of the hands with fingers interlocked (*karkaṭa hastā*) and the arms stretched overhead expresses amorous desire.

Same hand and series as No. LXV (M. F. A. **17.71**).

PLATE XXXI.

(2) PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

LXVII

17.2787. *Dīpaka Rāga:* male personage, with three flaming heads and four arms, holding elephant goad (*aṅkuśa*) and rose lotus (*padma*) as attributes, red in complexion, riding on a white elephant with flaming head and carrying a flaming *arghya pātra* in his trunk.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .157 × .148 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

A portion of the original red border with white inscription in Ṭākrī characters is attached and reads *Dīpak Raga.* Also inscribed reverse *Dosra patara Dīpakedā*, "second sheet of Dīpak."

PLATE XXXII.

LXVIII

17.2789. *Devagandhārī Rāgiṇī:* two women, one with a fly-whisk (*cāmara*) performing *Śiva pūjā*, standing on either side of a *liṅgam.* Implements of worship, including an *arghya pātra*, on the ground.

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Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .205 × .209 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Ṭākrī characters in white on the red border:

Devagandharī Ragaṇī Mālkausedā bharaja

"Devagandhārī Rāgiṇī, wife of Malkauśa."

Also reverse with *Malkausedā patara* (?), *patara* with the number 2 (i.e. 'sheet two'), and several letters in another hand.

PLATE XXXII.

LXIX

17.2790. *Gambhīra Rāga:* man and woman in a boat, the former aiming an arrow at a deer running on the shore.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .208 × .208 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in white Ṭākrī characters on the red border.

Gambhīra rāga Srī rāgedā putra

"Gambhīra Rāga, son of Śrī Rāga."

Reverse with identical inscription and some additional words.

It will be observed that the Jamū *Rāgmālā* series includes a grouping not only of *Rāgas* and their wives *Rāgiṇis* but also a series of modal variations known as sons and daughters of the *Rāgas*. Among Rājasthānī works I know of only one such series and the total number of pictures in a series should, of course, in this case, exceed the usual thirty-six.

PLATE XXXII.

LXX

17.2791. *Rāmakalī Rāgiṇī:* a woman with a cup of milk in each hand, cobras emerging from trees right and left to drink the milk.

Pahāṛī, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .208 × .205 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in Ṭākrī characters on the red border:

Rāmakalī ragiṇī Srī ragedī bharaja

"Rāmakalī Rāgiṇī, wife of Śrī Rāga."

Reverse with same inscription and additional words *pacauta patara*, "fifth sheet." The number 5 and six letters appear below in another hand.

PLATE XXXII.

LXXI

17.3199. *Gujarī Rāgiṇī:* a woman seated in landscape fondling two black deer, another woman playing the *vīṇā*.

Pahārī, Jamū, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .158 × .158 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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Inscription in white Ṭākrī characters on the red border:

Gujarī ragiṇī Dīpakedī bharaja

"Gujarī Rāgiṇī, wife of Dīpak."

PLATE XXXIII.

LXXII

17.3116. *Devagīrī Rāgiṇī:* two women, one with garland, one with a fly-whisk and basket of flowers, approaching a Śiva *liṅgam* to offer *pūjā*. The *liṅgam* surmounted by an umbrella of honor (*chattra*).

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .203 × .209 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in red Ṭākrī characters on the yellow border:

Devagīrī ragaṇī Hindoledī bharaja

"Devagīrī Rāgiṇī, wife of Hindola (Rāga)."

Reverse:

Devagīrī Hindoledī bhārajā dusra patara.

"Devagīrī (Rāgiṇī), wife of Hindola, second sheet."

also the number 2 and several letters in another hand.

PLATE XXXIII.

LXXIII

17.2788. *Bhamarānanda Rāga:* a Śaiva *sannyāsī* dancing violently, and a woman drumming on a tambourine.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .205 × .211 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in black in Ṭākrī characters on the red border:

Rāga Bhamarānanda Malkausedā putra, "Bhamarānanda Rāga, son of Malkauśa."

Style of No. LXVIII, etc., but not in same series.

PLATE XXXIII.

LXXIV

17.3200. *Gujarī Rāgiṇī:* girl with a *vīṇā*, between two trees.

Pahāṛī, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .204 × .219 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Ṭākrī characters on the red border:

Ragaṇī Gujarī Dīpakedī bharaja

"Gujarī Rāgiṇī, wife of Dīpak."

PLATE XXXIII.

LXXV

17.3218. *Devagīrī Rāgiṇī:* a lady offering *pūjā* of burning camphor before a large ball of burning camphor on a dish (*varaṇa-dala*) supported by a standing brazen Garuḍa. Attendant with yak-tail *caurī*, architectural background. Red border with Ṭākrī inscription in white: *Raganī Devagīrī 17.*

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Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .197 × .251 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XXXIV.

LXXVI

17.3219. *Ahīrī Rāgiṇī:* a lady offering a cup of milk to four cobras emerging from and coiling upon two earthen pots. Attendant with yak-tail *caurī;* architectural background. Red border with Ṭākrī inscription in black: *Raganī Ahīrī Hamdoledī bharaja,* "Rāgiṇī Ahīrī wife of Hindola."

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .206 × .205 m. Jamū. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

As regards the subject of this picture, it may be remarked in the first place that the cult of Nāgas, as at once benevolent and destructive powers of the waters, which flourished so extensively in the Ganges valley at an earlier date has survived in great strength in the Pañjāb Himālayas. In particular the snake god Bāsak or Bāsu Nāg is worshipped all over the hills. The picture seems to refer to a particular legend connected with this divinity, localized in, but perhaps not peculiar to Kuḷū. A certain woman was abducted by Bāsu Nāg; he allowed her to return home but told her that she would give birth to eighteen (in the hills, an indefinite round number) Nāgs, whom she must feed daily with milk, and so it turned out. She kept the snakes in an earthen pot and fed them, as represented in the picture. One day her daughter was inquisitive, and herself taking some milk went to the mysterious pot. When the snakes popped out to get the milk, she was frightened, and all the snakes escaped.[1] It is interesting to see how this story has been made into the theme of a *Rāgmālā* painting. It may be remarked that the motif of snakes twining about a jar occurs also in Ceylon,[2] and is of remote antiquity in Western Asia in connection with the cult of Ashtaroth.

PLATE XXXIV.

(3) PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

LXXVII

17.2556. *Megh Rāga:* a four-armed divinity, evidently Indra, seated in the clouds before a tree (*kalpa vṛkṣa*) with elephant (Airāvata). In lower clouds to right: Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Candra to right; *gandharvas* to left. Below, on earth, a man and woman seated on a bed, and peacocks dancing, enjoying the rain. Thick red brush outline over white priming. A good example of Strzygowski's 'Hvarena landscape.'

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth century.

[1] Hutchinson, J. and Vogel, J. Ph., *History of Bhadrawāh State,* Journ. Panjab Historical Society, IV, 2, 1916, p. 118; and Panjab Gazetteer, 1917, and Pl. II, and p. 62.

[2] Coomaraswamy, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art,* Pl. xxvi, 6.

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Dimensions, .148 × .243 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed 1. *Prathama rāga Megha.*

The only example of a *rāga* picture of the Kāṅgṛā school in the collection.

PLATE CIII.

(4) MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES

LXXVIII

15.45. *Ṭoḍī Rāgiṇī:* woman leaning against a tree in landscape, listening to the music of another woman with a *vīṇā;* two fawns attracted by the music.

Delhi or Lucknow? eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .151 × .228 m. Ross Collection.

Writing at back in Gurmukhī characters, *Ṭoḍī.* Seal at back in Persian characters dated H. 1155 = 1747 A.D.

Same hand and series as No. LXXIX in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **15.47**). Both could be considered late Mughal.

LXXIX

15.47. *Rāgiṇī:* woman with a flower wand and a garland, leaning against a tree, in landscape.

Delhi or Lucknow? eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .15 × .234 m. Ross Collection.

Seal at back in Persian characters dated A. H. 1155 = 1747 A.D.

Same hand and series as No. LXXVIII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **15.45**).

LXXX

17.2512. *Lalitā Rāgiṇī:* the heroine sleeping on a couch, the hero departing, the *sakhī* standing by the couch, but erased. Sketch in carmine, with parts in black.

Central Provinces? eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .132 × .188 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed *Lālīta* in Nāgarī characters.

LXXXI

17.2664. *Kakubha Rāgiṇī:* a lady in landscape with two peacocks. Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *Kakubha.*

Patna, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .09 × .132 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

LXXXII

17.2665. *Rāgiṇī:* a woman seated. Inscription in Persian characters: *Rāgiṇī.*

Patna, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .104 × .12 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection

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LXXXIII

17.2822. *Bhairava Rāga?* Śiva as Bhairava dancing before a Śaiva shrine, attended by a dancing *gaṇa* and a cobra, in rocky landscape. Partly colored.

Patna? nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .152 × .227 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

B. Epic and Romance

(1) Rājasthānī

Rāmāyaṇa

LXXXIV

17.2293. Rāma and Sītā enthroned, attended by Lakṣmaṇa and worshiped by Hanuman. Painting in full colors and gold, the whites much darkened by chemical change.

Rājasthānī, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .068 × .067 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Obtained with Jain MSS from Pūj Kṛpā Ṛṣi at Pattan, Pañjāb.

Same hand and series as Nos. CLIV, CCCLXIII (M. F. A. **17.2292,2294**).

LXXXV

17.2546. Rāma returning victorious to Ayodhyā, accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa, Hanuman, Jambavān, etc. Drawing mainly in red, partly pricked for use as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, oval .202 × .268 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

LXXXVI

17.2560. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā passing through the streets of Ayodhyā on their way to the forest; above, in a palace, taking leave of Kauṣalyā. The lady in the foreground is perhaps Kaikeyī. Brush outline redrawn over white priming, background partly colored.

Rājasthānī, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .317 × .231 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

LXXXVII

17.3030. Arjuna? a seated warrior, dressed in mail, with bow and arrow. Brush outline drawing, no priming.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .104 × .124 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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LXXXVIII

17.3078. Rāma and Sītā in Ayodhyā, attended by Lakṣmaṇa, Hanuman and Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāma and Sītā seated on a throne supported by Garuḍas, on a terrace with garden beyond; Lakṣmaṇa with a peacock *cāmara*. Hanuman massaging Rāma's right leg. Tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .26 × .184 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

LXXXIX

17.3085. Rāma, with bow and lotus. Colored cartoon.

Rājasthānī, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .85 × .995 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Mahābhārata

XC

17.3031. The Five Pāṇḍavas: standing group, the names Ṣadeva, Nakala, Ārjana, Bhīva, Yudhiṣṭhira (?) superscribed in almost illegible Nāgarī characters. Names repeated at the side as follows: Rājā Yu[dhi]ṣṭhara (?), Bhīva, Arjana, Nukala, Saideva (*sic*).

Brush outline drawing.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .108 × .094 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

XCI

17.2548. *Bhagavad Gītā:* Kṛṣṇa instructing Arjuna. Second drawing over white priming.

Rājasthānī, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .135 × .113 m., oval. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Mālatī-madhu

XCII

26.3. Page (cut down) from an illustrated manuscript of, or a series of pictures from the story of Mālatī and Madhu. Girl and youth seated in a pavilion, the former throwing a paper ball at the latter; beside each, a book lying on the ground; between them the teacher's seat (*caukī*) with a whip lying on it. Superscribed *Mālatī Madhu pẽ gemda bāhī̃*, "Mālatī throwing the ball at Madhu." Part of the Hindī text above the picture and at the back.

Rājasthānī, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .182 × .155 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

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Text:

50 *Paṭa pareca ke aujhala rahe, bacana bibeka paraspara kahai,*
Madhu Mālatī dou parabīna, kou adhika na kou hīna.

51 *Yeka dīvasa gura āra na gayau, mana mai guḍha Mālatī ṭhayau,*
Paṭa pareca sau dī nainana, nirakhyo Madhu purana manamana.

52 *Soraṭhā: Bhaī bīraha basa-bāla, Madhu rati nirakhi jahī,*
Manahu kovarī jāla giri mīna jyau Mālatī.

53 *Copaī: Paṭa pareca thoro gahī phāri, kari gahi gen̈da phula kī mārī,*
Madhu ucai cītayaka dekhyau, Mālatī badana kalā-nidhi pekhyau.

54 *Soraṭhā: Cītavata ucai naina, manahu bāna ura urajhiyau,*
Pragaṭyau purana maina, prīti heta Madhu Mālatī.

55 *Copaī: Madhu jīya samajhi sakuca mana dhari, nīcī dṛsaṭi dhara parīgharī,*
Manahu kuṁbha ḍhare sahāsra jala, lajyā bhaī prāna te prabāla.

56 *Mālatī jīya mai āpa saṁbharī, dujai gen̈da phula kī mārī,*
Badana durāya rahyau kahi kaise, nirakhi badana bolau kīna aise.

57 *Phala a(ṁ)bukha dekhi dṛga tasai, talavara hai bīna khayẽ kasai,*
Phuni mīṭho karavauvu kasai, ātura bhuta pī jīyai asai.

58 *Iṁdrāina phala suṁdara hoya, khave ki āccha naī koya,*
Bīna bujhai cākhai nahī koye, so gati se mali subhaṭā hoya.

59 *Dohā: Subhaṭa se mala dekhi kai, mana aṁba aṁba phala hoya,*
Pākai tẽ bhaī soya dekha, deha pī jarālo bhaī soya.

Translation:

"In a separate room, with their paper books, they were talking together of various things—

Madhu and Mālatī, both of them clever, neither the more nor the less.

One day when the teacher had not come, Mālatī devised a secret scheme in her heart;

Raising her eyes from book and paper, she saw that Madhu was deep in his studies.

Overcome by longing, she looked desirously at Madhu;

Mālatī was like a fish that is caught in a *kovarī*-net.

Taking a piece of the paper book she rolled it up, and making a ball she threw it lightly:

Madhu looked up in anger, but what he saw was Mālatī's form, a casket of snares!

Madhu looked up in anger, as though an arrow had struck his breast:

But Love came forth in his might, and Madhu and Mālatī fell in love.

Madhu, perceiving the state of his feelings, became confused, and thereupon dropped his eyes,

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As though a thousand pots were pouring water down on him, he was abashed,
and his heart sank.
Mālatī controlled herself, and tossed a second ball:
He hunched up his body, I cannot describe it; at the sight of her body he could
not speak
And though he beheld a very mango fruit, it seemed like a dagger or sword;
Then making it out to be sweet, the breath of desire sprang up in his heart.
It was a lovely fruit of Indra's heaven, seeming good to eat —
None enjoys before he recognizes what he sees, and thus the hero fell.
And seeing that the hero yielded, her soul (melted) like a perfect mango fruit,
And being ripe she gazed on him, and as for him, his body was on fire."

This is evidently a part of some Hindī version of the story of Mālatī and Mādhava, which forms the theme of a well known classic Sanskrit play by Bhavabhūti, who flourished at the court of Yaśovarman of Kanauj in the first half of the eighth century A.D. The play is translated in Wilson, H., *Select specimens of the theatre of the Hindus*, 1871 ed., vol. II. Here Mādhava is the son of Devaraka, King of Vidarbha, and is sent to Padmāvatī (probably the modern Pawāyā in Gwāliar) to study logic, and with a view to his ultimate marriage with Mālatī, the daughter of the minister Bhurivasu.

The representation of a schoolroom is of interest. For another example see No. CXXX in this Catalogue. Published: M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 142.

PLATE XXXV.

Lailā Mājñūn

XCIII

15.52. Majñūn, an emaciated figure, seated under a tree in a rocky landscape, visited by Lailā, whose camel is seen in the lower right hand corner. Probably unfinished.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .15 × .22 m. Ross Collection.

XCIV

17.2916. Lailā and Majñūn conversing in the desert; the camel kneeling, to the right. Sunset sky.

Rājasthānī, eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .146 × .210 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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RAJPUT PAINTINGS

(2) Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā

Rāmayāṇa

XCV

17.2435. Siege of Laṅkā: Hanuman discovers Sītā in the Aśoka grove, guarded by *rakṣasīs*. Second drawing over thin priming, partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .369 × .259 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. XCVI, XCVII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2436–2437**).

Plate XXXVI.

XCVI

17.2436. Siege of Laṅkā: Hanuman ravages the Aśoka garden and attacks the guards. Indrajit aims an arrow at Hanuman. Second drawing over thin priming, partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .369 × .262 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. XCV, XCVII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2435, 2437**). See also No. XCVIII (M. F. A. **17.2447**).

Plate XXXVII.

XCVII

17.2437. Siege of Laṅkā: Hanuman captive, with oiled rags bound to his tail, led through the streets of Laṅkā, and flying through the air setting fire to the houses. Second drawing over thin priming, partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .366 × .261 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. XCV, XCVI in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2435, 2436**).

XCVIII

17.2447. Hanuman assaulting the *rākṣasa* guards, after finding Sītā in the Aśoka garden. Drawing in red.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .282 × .209 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Identical with part of No. XCVI (M. F. A. **17.2436**) and perhaps the original sketch for same composition and by same hand.

XCIX

17.2562. The Forest Asylum (*vanāśrāma*): Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa in their forest home, the latter cooking. Red outline over gray underdrawing.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .155 × .187 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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Mahābhārata

C

17.2544. Battle of Arjuna and Bhīṣma: both in chariots, Arjuna with Kṛṣṇa as charioteer and with a monkey banner, Bhīṣma with *haṁsa* banner, the air thick with arrows flying in both directions. Drawing in red, redrawn in black, partly over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā? eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .305 × .202 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Nala and Damayantī

CI

17.2392. The gods traveling through the air, in two groups, moving in contrary directions. Those to the left moving toward a city — doubtless Amarāvatī, Indra's capital — include Indra, riding on the elephant Airāvata; Varuṇa with the noose riding on a *caukī*; Agni, flaming, also on a *caukī*; Yama carrying a rod; and Sarasvatī, with a book and *vīṇā*, riding on *haṁsa*. Those to the right are Kālī, driving in a chariot drawn by two dogs and accompanied by Dvāpara; and Kāmadeva, with the 'five arrows' of love in his hand. Each group is accompanied by Gandharva musicians. Second drawing over white priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .355 × .225 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CII–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XXXVIII.

CII

17.2393. Palace of Nala: Nala in council in an upper chamber, a clerk's office below, with accountants. Horse and elephant stables beyond, and a Śaiva shrine on a hill. The apparently Georgian costume of the official standing to right of the clerk's office is the only suggestion of European influence in the series. No. 14 of the original series. Partly finished in strong colors.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .395 × .288 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI and CIII–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XXXVIII.

CIII

17.2394. The *svayaṁvara* of Damayantī: the courtyard is filled with suitors, and the bride surrounded by her maidens and accompanied by Sarasvatī, is borne in her palanquin towards Nala who is seated with the four gods disguised in the same likeness. One

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of the maidens carries the garland destined for the chosen suitor, on a covered tray. Other divinities in the clouds including Brahmā (with four heads) and Viṣṇu (with mace and lotus). Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .387 × .282 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

"In dismay saw Bhīma's daughter five, in garb, in form, the same. . . .
'How shall I the gods distinguish? Royal Nala how discern?'" — *Mahābhārata*, VI, 53.

Published: Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings*, Pl. XXVI; C., *R. P.*, Pl. LXII.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI, CII and CIV–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XXXIX.

CIV

17.2395. Following the *svayaṁvara*, Bhīma receives and congratulates Nala: Damayantī watching. The gods have already taken their departure. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .398 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CIII, CV–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XL.

CV

17.2396. Nala in procession: a typical Himālayan icon surmounted by a *chattra* is borne before him in another palanquin. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .398 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CIV, CVI–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XL.

CVI

17.2397. Nala received at Vidarbha by Bhīma: to the right, above, Nala's toilet in preparation for the marriage. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .334 × .221 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CV, CVII–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XLI.

CVII

17.2398. Departure from Vidarbha, following the wedding: above, Damayantī in her palanquin, Bhīma and Nala standing beside it, the former taking farewell of his daugh-

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ter; below, Nala taking leave of Bhīma. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .334 × .222 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CVI, CVIII–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XLI.

CVIII

17.2399. Another version of Nala's reception by Bhīma: a Brāhman priest offering a libation. The marriage pavilion is seen above the farther wall of the courtyard. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .398 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CVII, CIX–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XLII.

CIX

17.2400. The bridal chamber, night scene. Group of three maids with food to left; two others to right; one a doorkeeper, the other with a torch. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .400 × .290 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Part reproduced in Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings* II, Pl. X, 1.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CVIII, CX–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XLII.

CX

17.2401. Entertainment (*samārādhana*) of Brāhmans, in connection with the wedding ceremonies. A kitchen to the left, with Brāhman cooks handing out food: the guests seated in a circle without. The host (Bhīma?) with Nala in a pavilion. "Cloakroom" on the right. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .400 × .290 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CIX, CXI–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XLIII.

CXI

17.2402. Perhaps the return to Niṣadha. Damayantī's palanquin in the centre, Nala on horseback. Preparation of a bridal chamber. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

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Dimensions, .397 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CX, CXII–CXXX in this Catalogue.
PLATE XLIII.

CXII

17.2403. Nala and Damayantī in loggia and chamber to the left, to the right a crowned youth approaching and peeping over the wall. Perhaps the interview of Nala with Damayantī, on the occasion of his speaking for the gods (thus, between CII and CIII, above) in this case we must identify the youth thrice represented, as Nala in each case (method of "continuous narration"). Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored, numbered 74.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .398 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXI, CXIII–CXXX in this Catalogue.
PLATE XLIV.

CXIII

17.2404. Nala and Damayantī in three scenes. On the left she holds a mirror for him, in the centre she resists his advances, to the right he places a garland round her neck. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .349 × .29 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXII, CXIV–CXXX in this Catalogue.
PLATE XLIV.

CXIV

17.2405. Nala and Damayantī in three scenes. On the left, Nala fanning Damayantī, centre, Nala seated, Damayantī standing; right, Nala reclining, she standing arranging her hair. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .399 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXIII, CXV–CXXX in this Catalogue.
PLATE XLV.

CXV

17.2406. Nala visits Damayantī in her own apartments, and covers her eyes with his hand, making a sign to her maidens not to "let on" who it is. Nala is represented twice ("continuous narration"). Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .399 × .281 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXIV, CXVI–CXXX in this Catalogue.
PLATE XLV.

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CXVI

17.2407. Nala and Damayantī: the former sprinkling the attendants with water. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored. Numbered 83.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .399 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXV, CXVII–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XLVI.

CXVII

17.2408. Damayantī gives alms (a pearl necklace). Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .398 × .292 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXVI, CXVIII–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XLVI.

CXVIII

17.2409. Nala and Damayantī in three scenes; left and centre showing Nala persuading Damayantī to a reconciliation after a quarrel. On the right, both seated in affection, Damayantī with a lotus of dalliance (*kelikā kamala*). Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kaṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .398 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXVII, CXIX–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XLVII.

CXIX

17.2410. Nala and Damayantī at play with a girl, imprisoned between their arms. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored. Numbered 91.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .396 × .290 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXVIII, CXX–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XLVII.

CXX

17.2411. Nala receiving tribute (*nazar*) from a vassal prince. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored. Numbered 96.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .399 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as CI–CXIX, CXXI–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XLVIII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CXXI

17.2412. Nala practising archery, and officers engaged in athletic exercises (single stick, etc.). The archery practice is not for accuracy of aim, but for driving power and consists in driving arrows through a plank. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored. Numbered 97.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .398 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXX, CXXII–CXXX in this Catalogue.

Plate XLVIII.

CXXII

17.2413. Nala performing morning *sandhya* (twilight) ceremonies: above, attended by Brāhmans, practising *prāṇāyama* (regulation of breath); below, with Brāhmans and female attendants bathing. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored. Numbered 98.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .398 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The daily morning bath (*nityasnāna*) precedes the *sandhyā* ("twilight") ritual. Every householder is required to bathe twice daily — in the morning, before the sun rises, and again in the evening. The bath is preceded by tooth washing, and one of the maids is here shown pouring away the tooth water from the edge of the terrace. *Tarpana* or peace offering follows the bath, and then follow the *sandhyā* ceremonies properly so called. The third part of this office consists of *prāṇāyāma* or regulation of breath. For description of this ceremony, see S. C. Vasu, *Daily Practice of the Hindus*, ed. 2, pp. 46–49. The regulation of breath consists in inspiration through the left nostril, the right being closed by pressure of the thumb of the right hand; retention of breath, both nostrils being closed by pressure of the thumb, ring and little fingers of the right hand; and expiration through the right nostril, the left being still closed by the ring and little fingers.[1] The *gāyatrī mantram* is recited at each stage and this is accompanied by meditation on Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva.

A later part of the ritual is the offering to the sun, now risen, illustrated in No. CXXVII, (M. F. A. **17.2418**).

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXXI, CXXIII–CXXX in this Catalogue.

Plate XLIX.

CXXIII

17.2414. Nala and Damayantī seated, to right: a message is brought by one of the maidens (perhaps the announcement of a visitor). Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored. Numbered 92.

[1] The disposition of the hand is that known in dramatic dancing as *sarpa śirṣa* (see Nandikeśvara, *The Mirror of Gesture*, translated by Coomaraswamy and Duggirala, p. 33).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .398 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXXII, CXXIV–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE L.

CXXIV

17.2415. Nala at dinner: door of kitchen to left, Brāhmans at dinner in the foreground, other attendants being served in the courtyard beyond. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored. Numbered 100.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .397 × .290 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXXIII, CXXV–CXXX in this Catalogue.

In accordance with Indian custom men and women do not eat together. Food is eaten with the fingers, the right hand only being used. It may be noted that Nala is eating from a brass or golden tray, surrounded by bowls containing the various dishes, which a Brāhman attendant is replenishing. The Brāhmans themselves take their food directly from leaves.

PLATE L.

CXXV

17.2416. Damayantī in her own apartments (*antaḥpura*) in Nala's palace: on the right in her private chapel, bowing before a representation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; to the left, at dinner. Kitchen seen beyond. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .396 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXXIV, CXXVI–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE LI.

CXXVI

17.2417. Nala with Damayantī in a pavilion, entertained by musicians; maidens with caged birds; duenna leaning on a staff. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .398 × .290 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXXV, CXXVII–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE LI.

CXXVII

17.2418. Morning *sandhya* (twilight) ceremonies. Dawn libation to the sun (*sūryārghya dānam*). Nala, with attendant Brāhmans, standing on a terrace near the door of the inner palace pouring water from a *arghya pātra*. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

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Dimensions, .398 × .291 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

For the *Sūryopasthānam* and *Sūryārghya dānam* see S. C. Vasu, *Daily Practice of the Hindus*, 2d edition (1909), pp. 53, 88, 101.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXXVI, CXXVIII–CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE XLIX.

CXXVIII

17.2419. Nala and Damayantī seated on a bed in a loggia, probably waiting for the moon to rise. A night scene; servants snuffing the candles. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored. Numbered 108.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .396 × .292 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXXVII, CXXIX, CXXX in this Catalogue.

PLATE LII.

CXXIX

17.2420. Nala and Damayantī seated on a bed on the palace roof, hand in hand, watching the full moon. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .396 × .29 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXXVIII, CXXX in this Catalogue.

In summer the roofs of Indian houses are used as sleeping porches. Cf. *Kāma Sūtra*, x, 19–22, 'If it is the hot season, they should repair to the open terrace and take their seat there to enjoy the moonlight . . . the husband should point out to her the various stars. Such are the actions to be performed after sexual intercourse.'

PLATE LIII.

CXXX

17.2446. Part of a larger drawing. Palace of Nala: the schoolroom, with three pupils and a teacher. In another place, alms-giving to poor Brāhmans. Second drawing over white priming, slightly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .138 × .183 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CI–CXXIX in this Catalogue.

For other representations of schoolrooms in Indian art see No. XCII in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **26.3**), and:

Griffiths, J., *The paintings in the Buddhist cave temples of Ajunta*, 1896–97, Pl. 45;

Vogel, J. Ph., *Inscribed Gandhāra sculptures*, A. S. I., A. R., 1903–04, pp. 245–247, Pl. LXVI, i, and fig. 1 (Siddhārtha's visit to the writing school, *lipiśāla*);

Pleyte, C. M., *Die Buddha legende in den Sculpturen von Borobodur*, 1901–02, p. 60 and figs. 37–38 (same theme);

C., *R. P.*, Pl. LXI (Vālmīki's hermitage).

PLATE LIV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CXXXI

17.2498. Nala and Damayantī (?) seated in an upper chamber overlooking a river, viewing the monsoon clouds; musicians below. Second drawing over white priming, no color.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .184 × .258 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

For another picture by the same hand see No. CCLXIX (M. F. A. **17.2472**).

CXXXII

17.2553. Nala-Damayantī? Gods in horse-drawn cars proceeding through the sky to Damayantī's *svayaṁvara:* the following identified by inscriptions in *nāgarī* characters as "Vārana," Yāma, and Agni.

Dimensions, .178 × .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The Hamīr Haṭh

CXXXIII

17.2421. *Hamīr Haṭh:* Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn shooting the rat; the queen Murhaṭhi despatching a letter to her lover; and the Sulṭān seated upon a throne, boasting of his skill, while the queen is listening from an adjoining room. No. 2 of the series.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

The same episodes (except the shooting of the rat) illustrated with text in No. CXLVIII (M. F. A. **17.2561**).

Dimensions, .340 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIV–CXLV (M. F. A. **17.2422–2433**).

CXXXIV

17.2422. No. 3 of the series. Mahīmā reading the queen's letter; and thus warned, taking his departure. Second drawing over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Dimensions, .340 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIII, CXXXV–CXLV.

CXXXV

17.2423. No. 4 of the series. Mahīmā arrives at Hamīr Deo's court and asks for shelter. Second drawing over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .341 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CXXIII, CXXXIV, CXXXVI–CXLV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CXXXVI

17.2424. *Hamīr Haṭh:* Mahimā asks his host no longer to protect him when the danger to the latter becomes too great. No. 5 of the series. Second drawing over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kaṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .340 × .256 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIII–CXXXV, CXXXVII–CXLV.

CXXXVII

17.2425. *Hamīr Haṭh:* Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn despatching Molhaṇa as ambassador to Hamīr Deo, demanding the surrender of Mahimā. No. 6 of the series. Second drawing over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .341 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIII–CXXXVI, CXXXVIII–CXLV.

CXXXVIII

17.2426. *Hamīr Haṭh:* Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn in council with his generals, preparatory to attacking Ranthambhor. No. 8 of the series. Second drawing over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .341 × .256 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIII–CXXXVII, CXXXIX–CXLV.

CXXXIX

17.2427. *Hamīr Haṭh:* Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn en route with his army to the assault of Ranthambhor. No. 9 of the series. Second drawing over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .340 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIII–CXXXVIII, CXL–CXLV.

CXL

17.2428. *Hamīr Haṭh:* Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn encamped before Ranthambhor: Hamīr Deo's dancer slain by an arrow. No. 11 of the series. Second drawing over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .341 ×.255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIII–CXXXIX, CXLI–CXLV.

CXLI

17.2429. *Hamīr Haṭh:* Mahimā retaliates for the death of the dancing girl by shooting an arrow which breaks the staff of the state umbrella above the Sulṭān's throne (a bad omen for the latter). No. 12 of the series. Second drawing over thin priming.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .341 × .257 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIII–CXL, CXLII–CXLV.

CXLII

17.2430. *Hamīr Haṭh:* Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn moving camp, on account of the evil omen of the broken umbrella shaft, and the danger of further sniping. No. 13 of the series. Second drawing over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .341 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIII–CXLI, CXLIII–CXLV.

CXLIII

17.2431. *Hamīr Haṭh:* Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn, advised by the traitor Raṇamalla, springs a mine under the walls of Ranthambhor. No. 14 of the series. Second drawing over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .341 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIII–CXLII, CXLIV, CXLV.

CXLIV

17.2432. *Hamīr Haṭh:* Hamīr Deo, reduced to the last extremity, goes out to fight and die: the women remaining behind, engaged in prayer, preparatory to the *jauhār* rite; the two armies drawn up face to face. No. 17 of the series. Second drawing over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .342 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIII–CXLIII, CXLV.

CXLV

17.2433. *Hamīr Haṭh:* The two armies engaged. Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn put to flight. The women of Ranthambhor, under a misapprehension as to the result, take their lives in *jauhār*. No. 19 of the series. Second drawing over thin priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .340 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
(In the final scene, which should follow this, the brave Hamīr feels that his heart is broken, and sacrifices his head to Śiva.)
Same hand and series as Nos. CXXXIII–CXLIV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CXLVI

17.2442. *Hamīr Haṭh:* Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn en route with his army to the assault of Ranthambhor. Second drawing, partly colored (gold ground).

Pahāṛī, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .355 × .243 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LV.

CXLVII

17.2443. The armies engaged, Alāu'd-Dīn put to flight. The women of Ranthambhor, under a misapprehension as to the result, take their lives in *jauhār*. Painting possibly by Sajnu, painter of the Maṇḍi series.

Pahāṛī, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .325 × .226 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LV.

CXLVIII

17.2561. Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn boasting of his archery: the queen overhears, and despatches a letter of warning to her lover Mahimā. Obverse with Hindī text. Second drawing over thin priming. No. 3 of a series.

Pahāṛī, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .310 × .262 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Hindī text:

Sabha Hamer deta mumāra kẽ pātasāhā juga juga jīyo:
Dekha bahādari pīya kī Murahaṭhī taba hasi diyo.
Java dekhiyo nārī hasī ti pātasāhā ne tava pucchi, saca
bhāṣa, hasi kyauṁ jhāra moha ura.
Tava kīni arja kara jora jãna ju basiyãūṁ:
Aika dīvasa karī māyakãla varttata sunāī.
Khojā bulāya paṭhāyo tahā jāhā Mīr Mahimā huto
Murahaṭhī sasi kahyo bhāga jãhu avahīṁ kahīṁ.

"They were praising Hamīr in darbār, crying 'O king, live for ever!'
And seeing the prince her lord, Murhaṭhī smiled
And when he saw the woman smile, the Pādshāh said 'Tell me truly why you
smiled and have no fear in your heart.'
Then she prayed with joined hands, 'Spare my life!
Give me the space of a day, and I shall tell you the true story.'
Then calling the eunuch she sent to Mīr Mahimā: 'Murhaṭhī says,
Now make your escape.'"

In the original text *kh* is written both as *kh* and as *ṣ*.

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Sohnī-Mahīvāl

CXLIX

17.2625. Sohnī crossing the river to visit Mahīwāl: night scene. The treatment is formal, naïve, and archaistic. The figure of Mahīwāl retouched. Much of the surface has flaked away from the paper.

Pañjāb, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .29 × .185 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced in outline in C., *R. P.*, Fig. 6.

PLATE XXXV.

CL

17.2805. Sohnī crossing the river to visit Mahīwāl: night scene. The ascetic's hut in the foreground; Mahīwāl on the opposite bank, seated under a tree, playing a flute, the buffaloes listening. Endorsed in Ṭākṛī characters, *Sohnī Mahīwāl.*

Pañjāb, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .174 × .244 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The inscription in Tākṛī character reproduced in C., *R. P.*, Fig. 1, No. 11.

Sassī-Punūn

CLI

26.49. Punūn on a camel, addressing Sassī who stands before him holding the bridle. Fully colored.

Pañjāb, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .204 × .171 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

The words *Sasi* and *Punu* are scrawled on the picture in Nāgarī characters. Punūn wears *jāma'* and trousers, Sassī *jagulī* and *khes.*

C. PAURĀṆIK AND TĀNTRIK

1. RĀJASTHĀNĪ

CLII

07.656. Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a palace terrace, with attendants and musicians; lion and Nandi in the forground. Fully colored, the gilded surfaces and pearl necklaces raised.

Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .262 × .358 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE LVII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CLIII

17.656. Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a terrace, with two attendants and four female musicians. In the foreground, Śiva's bull Nandi, and Pārvatī's lion.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .255 × .35 m. Ross Collection.

CLIV

17.2292. Viṣṇu on lotus seat, four-handed, holding lotus (*padma*), mace (*gada*), conch (*śaṅkha*) and discus (*cakra*). Painting in full colors and gold, the whites much darkened by chemical change.

Rājasthānī, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .065 × .044 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Obtained with Jain MSS from Pūj Kṛpā Ṛṣi at Pattan, Pañjāb. Same hand and series as Nos. LXXXIV, CCCLXIII (M. F. A. **17.2293, 17.2294**).

CLV

17.3032. Birth of Brahmā: Viṣṇu, *śayanamūrti*, reclining upon Ādiśeṣa, Bhūmidevī at his feet, Brahmā upon a lotus springing from his navel. Viṣṇu is four-armed, each hand holding a lotus: the mace, discus, and conch at his side. Outline pricked, and used as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .216 × .139 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CLVI

17.3037. *Gaṅgāvataraṇa*, birth of the Ganges. Śiva seated on a tiger skin, the Ganges falling from his hair: Pārvatī seated in an attitude of worship, with a lotus. Colored.

Rājasthānī, eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .072 × .064 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXIII.

CLVII

25.424. The four mind-born sons of Brahmā (Sanakādit), viz.; Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana and Sanatkumāra, represented as four Vaiṣṇava worshippers holding leaves and rosaries; in landscape, a crane on the right. Dull red, brown, dark green and white coloring, with brick red border. Superscribed in white Nāgarī characters *Sanakādīkha*.

Provenance uncertain. Archaic style, probably early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .160 × .118 m. Harriet Otis Cruft Fund.

Same hand and series as No. CLVIII.

PLATE LVI.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CLVIII

25.425. Two personages standing in a river, of whom one (left) is Nārada carrying his *vīṇā;* the other is pouring water from a vase into Nārada's left hand, presumably in ratification of a gift. Landscape background, with a crane to right, flowers and pearl garlands falling through the air, and clouds with single falling rain drops above. Superscription illegible. Coloring like No. CLVII with the addition of blue.

Provenance uncertain; archaic style, probably early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .160 × .120 m. Harriet Otis Cruft Fund.

The cloud and raindrop motif (see No. CCCXCIVB in this Catalogue) is here reduced to its simplest possible terms.

PLATE LVI.

2. PAHĀRĪ, JAMŪ

CLIX

17.2543. Group of *Kinnaras* making music. Five horse-headed men, with *sitar, sāraṅgī, vīṇā.*

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .323 × .220 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in Ṭakrī characters, beginning *Gandharva gāde:* and in different ink, *Upabarhaṇa Nārade-dā purbalā janma.*

Upabarhaṇa is one of the names of Nārada, the saint who carries the *vīṇā* and by means of his music disseminates spiritual knowledge through the universe.

The drawing is not satirical but represents the horse-headed men (*Kinnaras*) who in certain heavens are the musical genii.

CLX

17.2792. Śiva as Bhairava, seated on tiger skin, holding *triśūla* with *dhvaja,* the handle ending in a spear point below. Nimbus in the form of a radiant sun. Tāntrik.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .210 × .220 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CLXI

17.2793. Devī(Mahālakṣmī?) four-armed (l. r. h. *varada hasta,* u. r. h. with *khaḍga,* u. l. h. with *ḍamaru,* l. l. h. with *vīnā,* seated on a lotus rising from a lotus lake. Jewellery in part represented by fragments of beetle wings.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .207 × .210 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CLXII

17.2794. Viṣṇu as Upendra, four-armed, with usual attributes, formula S G C P.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .147 × .196 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XVII.

CLXIII

17.2795. Mahā Lakṣmī or Gaja-Lakṣmī (consort of Viṣṇu): four-armed goddess holding two rose lotuses and seated on expanded rose, lotus rising from the water. Two elephants in the sky above pour down lustral water from a golden jar. Strong colors, red border.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .153 × .212 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed at back in Ṭākrī script: *Mahālakṣmī.*

PLATE XVII.

CLXIV

20.165. General iconography: leather bound volume of eighty-one leaves with illustrations of Indian mythology. One side of each leaf except the first is blank; the first page consisting of text in Ṭākrī characters. The pictures in pink, yellow, blue and black, made up entirely of the Nāgarī characters for *Rām*, minutely written. Each picture is labelled in Ṭākrī and Nāgarī characters. One loose leaf, folded, consisting of a representation of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, is composed in the same way of the characters representing *Rām*, in black. A remarkable feature is the inclusion of scenes from the life of Buddha (regarded as an avatār of Viṣṇu).

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century?

Dimensions, .17 × .25 m. Gift of John F. Lewis.

List of illustrations. (The words in italics are those of the actual inscriptions in Nāgarī characters):

Major deities.

Folio 1. Obverse, text in Ṭākrī characters.
Reverse, *Ādi Gaṇeṣaḥ; Vetāla.*
2. *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa; Brahmā.*
3. *Rudra: Śrī Śārikā.*
4. *Śāradā* with *Nārada* and *Saramūrti.*
5. *Kumāra.*

Planets.

6. *Candra.*
7. *Bhaumaḥ.*
8. *Budha.*
9. *Bṛhaspati.*
10. *Śukraḥ.*
11. *Śāni.*
12. *Rāha.*
13. *Ketu.*
14. *Varāha.*
15. *Narasiṁha.*
16. *Vāmana.*
17. *Trivikramaḥ* (the three strides).
18. *Nārāyaṇa* and *Balidānavaḥ.*
19. *Kurmaḥ* (Churning of the ocean).
20. *Āditya.*

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21. *Parasurāma* and *Kārtivīryaḥ*.
22. *Śaṁkhāsura*.
23. *Kārtivīryaḥ*.
24. *Bhārgavaḥ*.
25. *Kārtivīrya*.
26. *Bhārgavaḥ*. slaying . . .
27. *Nārāyaṇaḥ* and *Mārkaṇḍyya*.
28. *Matsyaḥ*.
29. *Rāma*, *Sītā*, and *Lakṣmaṇa*.
30. Sītā and Rāma; (*Sītārāmau*),
    Śūrpanakhā-l . . ṇau,
31. Sītā's overpersuasion of Lakṣmaṇa (*Sītā-hāra Lakṣmaṇa*) and the slaying of Khara (*Khara . . . vadhaḥ*).
32. Slaying of Keśāsura (*Keśāsura vadhaḥ*).
33. Slaying of Vṛṣabhāsura (*Vṛṣabhāsura vadhaḥ*).
34. Sītā and Rāma (*Sītārāmau*); *Lakṣmaṇa* and *Marīca*.
35. Rāma and Marīca (*Rāmamarīcau*).
36. Sītā's overpersuasion of Lakṣmana (*Sītā-hāra Lakṣmana*):
    meeting of Rāmā and Lakṣmaṇa (*Rāmā-Lakṣmaṇayos saṁgamaḥ*).
37. Sītā considering Rāvaṇa as a Brāhmaṇ mendicant (*Brāhmaṇaveśi Rāvaṇa Sītā matyarthaḥ*); rape of Sītā (*Sītā hārī Rāvaṇaḥ*).
38. Sītā carried through the air by Rāvaṇa, and death of Jaṭāyu (*Vaśa-Rāvaṇa Jaṭāyu Sītā-devī-ca*).
39. Two kings embraced by a headless figure (*Dataka baṁdha*).
40. Bali and Sugrīva fighting, Rāma aiming an arrow at Bali (*Bali-sugrīvau, Rāma*).
41. Hanuman.
42. Laṁkā.
43. Sītā guarded by *rākṣasīs* (*Laṁkā madhye Sītā niveśa*).
44. Hanuman in the Aśoka grove (*Aśoka Hanumān*).
45. Death of Prahasta (*Prahasta vadhaḥ*).
46. Death of Indrajit (*Indrajit vadhaḥ*).
47. Battle of bears and monkeys with *rākṣasas* (*Vānara-rākṣasa-yuddham*).
48. Death of Kumbhakarṇa (*Kumbhakarṇa vadhaḥ*).
49. *Rāmaḥ*.
50. Death of Rāvaṇa (*Rāvaṇa vadhaḥ*).
51. Birth of Kṛṣṇa (*Śrī Kṛṣṇa janma*).
52. Kṛṣṇa suckled (*Kṛṣṇa*).
53. Death of Śakatāsura (*Śakatāsura vadhaḥ*).
54. Death of Putanā (*Putanā vadhaḥ*).

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55. Death of Tṛṇāvertā (*Tṛṇāvertānāmāsurasya vadhaḥ*).
56. Cowherds eating (*Vatsapālā atra bhuṁjaṁti*); and creation of cattle (deception of Brahmā) (*Vatsa karaṇa*).
57. Kṛṣṇa's illusion (*Māyānūpa Kṛṣṇa*).
58. Death of Aghāsura (*Ajagaranūpa vadhaḥ*).
59. Brahmā taking the dust of Kṛṣṇa's feet (*Brahmaṇaḥ pādapatanam*).
60. Brahmā with Kṛṣṇa and cowherds (*Vatsānāmā nayanaṁ*).
61. Death of Kharāsura (*Kharāsura vadhaḥ*).
62. Raising of Mt. Govardhan (*Govardhana dāraṇaṁ*).
63. Death of Kāliya (*Kāliya vadhaḥ*).
64. Stealing of the *gopī's* clothes (*Gopīnām vastra haraṇaṁ*).
65. Circular dance of Kṛṣṇa and *gopīs* (*Gopī bhisārdha Śrī Kṛṣṇa krīḍā*).
66. Death of Bakāsura (*Bhakāsura vadhaḥ*).
67. *Balibhadra.*
68. Dance (*Krīḍā*).
69. Dance of Kṛṣṇa Rādhā and Balibhadra (*Phola-krīḍā*).
70. Death of Cānura (*Cānura vadhaḥ*).
71. Death of Pralambhāsura (*Pralambhāsura vadhaḥ*).
72. Death of Kubalayā (*Kubalayā pīḍa vadhaḥ*).
73. Death of Kaṁsa (*Kaṁsa vadhaḥ*).
74. Death of Mallamuṣṭi (*Mallamuṣṭi vadhaḥ*).
75. *Kṛṣṇa.*
76. *Bāṇāsura.*
77. Birth of Buddha (*Buddha-janma*).
78. Forest life of Buddha, Channa returning with the horse (*Budhasya vanavāsa*).
79. Buddha visited by his father and mother (*Mātṛpitaroścā bukaraṇaṁ*).
80. Assault of Mārā and temptation by the daughters of Mārā (*Pitu bhaya darpānaṁ*).
81. Four men seated (*Kāliyuga manuṣyaḥ*).
82. Kalki avatār (*Śrī Kārkya avatāram*).

PLATE LVII.

3. PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ, ETC.

Śaiva

CLXV

17.2569. The *tapas* of Pārvatī; in the upper l. h. corner, the *pañcāgni tapas* (but seven fires besides the sun are shown), in upper r. h. corner Pārvatī seated, in lower l. h. corner standing pouring out a libation on the earth, in each case with attendant maidens. Outline and wash drawing much eaten by white ants.

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Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .217 × .229 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Hindī text at back: . . . *paṁca agni āvaṇa,*

megha kī dhāra, udya (?) *sīta, vastra vihina, bhurja patra dhārī matrā ugra tapa kiyā.*

"The five fires' heat, the streaming rain and bitter cold, without clothes, wearing birch bark, she performed a most severe penance."

CLXVI

17.2580. Śiva and Pārvatī seated in landscape, with Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya. Also the 'vehicles,' Nandi, tiger, rat, and peacock.

Inscription at back in Gurmukhī characters.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .182 × .211 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Pārvatī making a garland of Brahmā heads.

Cf. No. CLXVII (M. F. A. **17.2582**).

CLXVII

17.2582. Śiva and Pārvatī with Nandi and the lion, seated on a tiger skin in the cremation ground before a yogī's fire, surrounded by dancing imps. Pārvatī making a garland of Brahmā heads. Śiva in yogī guise with bowl and drum (*ḍamaru*). Tāntrik.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .240 × .156 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. C., *R. P.*, p. 58 and J. A. O. S., Vol. 46, p. 188. The garland of beads implies an existence transcending the order of alternate manifestation and dissolution of the universe — each Brahmā being the ruler of an "age" of 4,320,000 years. So for Devī: "a thousand years are as a day in her sight."

Fragment of Sanskrit text below:

lepaḥ sraga pitṛ karoṭī parikaraḥ dhyo 24.

CLXVIII

17.2583. (Śiva as) Ardhanārīśvara, half male and half female, seated on lotus in oval above worshipping figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, the former four-headed and four-armed, the latter four-armed, with usual attribute. Background Himālayan. Sanskrit inscription partly torn away; parts eaten by white ants.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .022 × .149 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The male half of Ardhanārīśvara with crescent moon, and Ganges falling from hair, *triśūla* and banner in right hand: female half (Devī) with a covered vessel.

Sanskrit inscription: *Jagaddīpākaraṁjaladhi valayaṁtena kṛtamit. . . . .*

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CLXIX

17.2584. Śiva and Pārvatī enthroned in a golden shrine (*vimala mandir*) on the summit of Mt. Kailāsa: *yogīs* and *sannyāsīs*, on pilgrimage in the Himālayas below. *Apsarases* and *gandharvas* in the clouds. Deer and trees in the foreground. Finished painting.

Pahāṛī, Kāngṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .258 × .385 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Accompanying Sanskrit text in Nāgarī characters:

Kailāsāgre kadācidraviśatavimale mandire ratnapīṭhe saṁviṣṭaṁ
dhyānaniṣṭaṁ trinayanamathayaṁ sevitaṁ siddhasaṁghaiḥ.
Devī vāmāṅkasaṁsthā Girivaratanayā Pārvatī bhaktinamrā prahedaṁ
devamīsaṁ sakalahitakaraṁ kāvyānandakandam. Śrī Śivāya namaḥ.

"To the divine Īśvara (Śiva), seated on the summit of Kailās, in a shrine as brilliant as a thousand suns, upon a gem-set throne, intent on meditation, three-eyed and beneficent, resort of the Siddha host, Pārvatī Devī, daughter of Himālaya, humble in devotion, seated upon his left thigh, spake this sentence, once upon a time, for the good of all, a sentence that is the very root of bliss: 'Hail to Śiva!'"

Cf. C., *R. P.*, p. 56; Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, No. 102.

PLATE LVIII.

CLXX

17.2652. Śiva and Pārvati. She sleeping on a tiger skin, he watching. To the right Siva's trident (*trisūla*) erect, with his drum (*ḍamaru*), bowl (*kamaṇḍalu*) and wallet hanging. The bull Nandi in the foreground. Night scene, blue borders.

Pahāṛī, attributed to Mola Rām, of Gaṛhwāl (A.D. 1760–1833).

Dimensions, .213 × .295 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Originally purchased from Balak Rām Sah, the great grandson of Mola Rām, in 1910.

Published, C., *R. P.*, pp. 23, 54 and Pl. LXV; M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 102.

The great yogī and his consort in the Himālayas, are encamped for the night. Behind is a lotus lake in moonlight and wild creatures in their caves to the left. Śiva himself wears a tiger skin, a coiling serpent, the crescent moon on his brow, white shell earrings, two strings of sacred beads (*rūdrākṣa-mālā*), and a string of pearls worn over the right shoulder, also pendants, armlets and bracelets; he is of fair complexion, with short brown hair dusted with gold. Pārvatī dressed like a Pahāṛī princess — trousers, transparent muslin skirt, bodice, *dupaṭṭa* and jewelry. She is of rosy complexion. Her head rests on Śiva's knee.

The moment is a little later than that described in the 8th canto of Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-Śambhava:*

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The womb of night envelops slow
The world with darkness vast and black . . .
Moon fingers move the black, black hair
Of night into its proper place,
Who shuts her eyes, the lilies fair,
As he sets kisses on her face.

(Translated by A. W. Ryder.)

Pārvatī falls asleep while Śiva is still speaking.

Traces of a short inscription in Nāgarī characters, apparently i.e., 'the roaming or pleasuring of Gaurī and Śaṅkara (Pārvatī and Śiva).'

Tender and sweet in sentiment, without being sentimental — yet it will be seen that it could not be long before an art which has reached this point must have become overripe in feeling, and mechanical in technique — the detail is indeed already too meticulous. In actual fact, however, Pahāṛī art has died of neglect. The realistic illumination is traceable, perhaps, to Mughal and ultimately European influences, as in many late Mughal renderings of Hindū subjects e.g. M. F. A. **14.685.**

PLATE LIX.

CLXXI

17.2579. Śiva and Pārvatī with Nandi in Himālayan forest landscape; Śiva as a yogī, his arms resting on Nandi's neck. Pārvatī drawing down the branch of a small tree and feeding Nandi with its leaves. Black outline on white priming over red sketch.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .19 × .246 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CLXXII

17.2577. *Gaṅgāvataraṇa:* descent of the Ganges. Śiva, as a yogī, with *triśūla* etc., seated with Pārvatī on an overhanging crag, the Ganges falling from his hair at the prayer of Bhagīratha, who stands below. Much rubbed outline drawing. Other faint sketches of similar subjects on same sheet and at back.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, about 1800.

Dimensions, .195 × .245 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CLXXIII

17.2578. *Gaṅgāvataraṇa:* descent of the Ganges. Śiva seated as a yogī, on an overhanging crag, with Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Nandi; the Ganges falling from Śiva's hair at the prayer of Bhagīratha, who stands below with hands raised in worship. Black outline and wash over red sketch.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .138 × .213 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LX.

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Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa

CLXXIV

17.2585. Devī, enthroned, sixteen-armed form: to left, Kālī addressing her; behind, dancing *gaṇas*, one with a drum.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth century.

Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Dimensions, .124 × .071 m.

Attributes of Devī: sword, discus, lotus, trident, shield, bow, bell, noose, crescent moon on brow. Attributes of Kālī, skull cup, severed heads, noose and another weapon, also the crescent moon.

PLATE LXIV.

CLXXV

17.2586. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* the *asura* Sugriva addressing Devī, and departing. Himālayan scenery. Numbered 28.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .277 × .188 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Illustration to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Cāṇḍi Parva*, LXXXV, 54–6.

"When Śumbha had heard the words of Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, he sent a messenger named Sugriva to the goddess . . . . Then went the messenger to the place where the goddess stood, in a very beautiful region of the mountain, and addressed her kindly, with fair words."

PLATE LXII.

CLXXVI

17.2587. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* Devī with the feminine powers of the principal divinities, etc., riding on their vehicles arrayed against the army of *asuras* led by Śumbha Himālayan landscape.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .275 × .188 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Illustration to *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Cāṇḍi Parva*, LXXXVIII.

The Śaktis came forth in their bodily forms from Brahmā, Īśā, Guha and Viṣṇu, viz., the Śakti of Brahmā, riding on the *haṁsa*, Maheśvarī riding on a bull, Kaumārī on a peacock, the Śakti of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, the Śakti of Hari in the form of a boar, the Śakti of Indra riding on an elephant, and Narasiṁhī. All these may be seen in the drawing, together with the Devī herself with many arms and weapons riding on her lion, and her emanation, in the form of Kālī, with four arms, with sword, noose and breastbone, and followed by jackals advancing toward the approaching army of *asuras*.

PLATE LXII.

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CLXXVII

17.2588. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* the death of Raktavīya: the Devī accompanied by Kālī and followed by the feminine powers of the divinities, fighting the *asura;* Caṇḍī on her lion, with weapons; Kālī with far extended tongue.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .276 × .186 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Illustration to *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Cāṇḍī Parva,* LXXXVIII.

Above, in conflict with Devī, is seen the *asura* Raktavīya, from whose every drop of blood as it fell, an *asura* like himself sprang up: he fought with each of the Śaktis in turn, until Kālī opened her mouth and drank up the drops of blood and the *asuras* that sprang from them, and Raktavīya fell dead.

Almost identical with No. CLXXXV (M. F. A. **17.2596**), which shows the same composition reversed. Cf. the well-known Pallava rock carving of the same subject of the eighth century at Māmallapuram (*Viśvakarmā,* Pl. XLV).

Published, Modern Review, Oct., 1913.

PLATE LXII.

CLXXVIII

17.2589. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* The Devī slaying an *asura,* identified by marginal note as Śumbha.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .274 × .189 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Illustration to the *Cāṇḍī Parva* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* XC, 22.

"And as the king of all the Daityas was coming on, Devī struck him to the earth, his breast smitten through with her trident."

CLXXIX

17.2590. Introduction to the *Devī Mahātmaya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* Suratha and Samādhi consulting the Sage. Hermitage among trees and hills, with tame deer, lion, and peacock. Brush outline.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .276 × .187 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, LXXXI, 28: "And the King and the Vaiṣya, having saluted him according to his dignity, seated themselves near him, and put various questions to him."

PLATE LXII.

CLXXX

17.2591. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* Devī standing, in *maṇḍala.* She is twenty-armed with attributes, and surrounded by Brahmā, Śiva, and other gods, with whom she is con-

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nected by radiating lines of force, indicating that they are "emanations" of the goddess herself.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .262 × .199 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Illustration to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Cāṇḍī Parva*, LXXXV.

Reverse inscribed with Sanskrit text:

Dvitīya 2.

Ityaṁ niśampa devānāṁ ityārabhyaḥ // subṛbur (?) *munayaścainām bhakti nāmrātya mūrttayariti paryyaṁtaṁ // śrī 33 //*

2 Śama.

CLXXXI

17.2592. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* Devī seated in *maṇḍala.* She is six-armed, with attributes (trident, discus, lotus and conch). Hosts of the gods to right and left, lion in foreground; Himālayan landscape.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .266 × .199 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with Sanskrit text from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Cāṇḍī Parva* (LXXXV): *Ṛṣiruvāca // Śaktādayaḥ sura gaṇā tihateti vīrye: ityārabhyaḥ: Śrī mārkkaṇḍe purāṇe caṇḍī mahātme dhyāyaścaturthaḥ // 4 // iti paryantam // Śrī // 36.*

CLXXXII

17.2593. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* two *rākṣasas*, namely, Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, in conversation with Devī, in Himālayan landscape.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .262 × .177 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. C., *R. P.*, p. 58.

Reverse inscribed with Sanskrit text (Cāṇḍī Parva, LXXXV, 42).

Paṁcama 13.

// Tato // paraṁrūpaṁ vibhrāṇā sumanoharaṁ dadarśa caṇḍo muṇḍaśca bhṛtyau suṁbha niśuṁbhayo // eka ślokasya pralekhyaḥ //

23 rāma.

Translation.

"Then Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, the two servants of Śūmbha and Niśūmbha, saw her as Ambikā, bearing a very beautiful form."

CLXXXIII

17.2594. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* the Devī attacking Mahiṣāsura.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .276 × .191 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Cāṇḍī Parva, LXXXIII. Reverse with Sanskrit text.

Tṛtīya 18.

Tato mahāsuro bhūyo // ityārabhyaḥ // mayātvapi hate traiva garji . . . . . devatā iti paryantam // Śrī 39.

Same hand and series as Nos. CLXXX–CLXXXII (M. F. A. **17.2591–2593**).

CLXXXIV

17.2595. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* Devī seated in Himālayan landscape, Dhumralocana approaching her, flames rising up at his feet. Other *rākṣasas* put to flight by her lion.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .279 × .175 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Illustration to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Cāṇḍī Parva,* LXXXVI.

Reverse with Sanskrit text.

Div. 28.

Sadṛṣvānā tato devīṁ tuhināćalā saṁsthitām // valaṁcapitam . . . devi vikesarīṇā tataḥ // 16 //

28 Rāmaḥ.

Caṇḍi Parva, LXXXVI, 9–15.

"Then Dhumralocana ran up to her, and she reduced him to ashes by her magic power . . . . Then the lion of Devī, upon which she rode — fell upon the army of the asuras . . . tore out the hearts of some with his claws, and split the heads of others with his paw, etc."

CLXXXV

17.2596. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa:* the death of Raktavīya. The Devī accompanied by Kālī and followed by the feminine powers of the divinities, destroying an *asura.*

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .257 × .171 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Composition nearly identical with **17.2588,** reversed. Same hand and series as **17.2595.**

Reverse with Sanskrit text:

61. Maṭhastrayāt saṁbhūtān raktaviṁdutmahāsurān // teṣāṁ māṭṛ gaṇo jato manartā sagsado hṛtaḥ 61 iti. 61 Śam.

CLXXXVI

17.2597. Rāvaṇa, accompanied by two *rākṣasas,* beseeching Śiva and Pārvatī, in the Himālayas. Partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .264 × .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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CLXXXVII

17.2615. Hermitage scene, two *ṛṣis* in conversation. Perhaps connected with the introduction to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Fully colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .330 × .233. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXI.

Vaiṣṇava

CLXXXVIII

17.2549. Viṣṇu, *śayanamūrti:* reclining upon Ādiśeṣa (Ananta), Bhūmidevī at his feet. Brahmā upon a lotus springing from Viṣṇu's navel. Brush outline over white priming.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .154 × .104 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CLXXXIX

17.2551. *Gajendra Mokṣa*, salvation of the king of elephants. The elephant, drawn down into the water by the tentacles of the '*grāha*,' offers a lotus flower to the Adorable (Viṣṇu), who appears in eight-armed form, riding upon Garuḍa, one hand raised in *abhaya mudrā*, the other holding the weapons listed below. Second drawing over white priming, partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .218 × .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Sanskrit text inscribed in Nāgarī characters:

Grāha graste gajeṁdre rudati sarabhasaṁtārkṣyamāruhya
dhāvanvyājūrṇanṁālyabhūṣāvasana parikaro meghagaṁbhīraghoṣaḥ
Avibhrāṇo rathaṁgaṁśaramasimabhayaṁśaṁkhacāpau sakheṭau
hastekaumodakīmapyavat hari rasāvaṁhasāṁsaṁhatirvaḥ.

"May that Harī (Viṣṇu) remove the multitude of your sins, who, upon the crying of the king of elephants seized by the crocodile, immediately appeared riding upon Garuḍa, hastening in burning compassion, with garland, jewels and gear, roaring like a thunder cloud, holding in his hands discus, arrow, sword, conch, bow, sling (?) and mace, and dispelling fear."

This a regular *śāstrīya dhyānaṁ*, unlike the usual verses for pictures chosen for vernacular poems.

The story runs that two great *ṛṣis*, each a devotee of the Adorable, incurred such curses from certain other saints, that one became a crocodile, the other an elephant, each forgetful of their former faith. One day the elephant went down to drink just where the crocodile lay; the crocodile seized him by the leg. A struggle raged for a thousand years,

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till at last the elephant's trunk alone remained above the waters. Then there came to him the memory of his former faith, and he sought refuge with the Adorable. Breaking a lotus flower he offered it to Bhagavān, crying to Him for aid. He took the form of Hari and, riding upon Garuḍa, instantly appeared, and slaying the crocodile with the *cakra*, saved the elephant; and both attained salvation by his grace. The two are counted amongst the number of Forty-two Beloved of the Lord, the 'Hari-Vallabhas' of the *Bhakta-mālā*.[1]

Representations of this subject vary considerably. In some the *grāha* is a veritable crocodile, and holds the elephant by the trunk, in a manner inconsistent with the above account. A version of this kind has evidently formed the basis of the cover-illustration of Kipling's *Just So Stories*. In other examples the *grāha* is more like an octopus, with many tentacles winding about the elephant's feet, or, as in C., *R. P.*, Plate XVI, like a loathly worm with many eyes. These types fit well with the generally understood interpretation that the elephant is the soul of man entangled in the snares of lust and pleasure,[2] powerless to save himself without the aid of the Adorable. The subject is treated in Gupta and mediaeval reliefs at Deogaṛh. For a possible source of the legend see also p. 51.

CXC

17.2568. Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, enthroned in a pavilion, worshipped on the right by Brahmā and other deities, Nārada and dancers in the foreground, chorus of *gandharvas*, and *ṛṣis* to the left. Second drawing over white priming, partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .236 × .275 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CXCI

17.2550. Viṣṇu, *śayanamūrti;* reclining upon Ādiśeṣa (Ananta), Bhumidevī at his feet. Brahmā upon a lotus springing from Viṣṇu's navel.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .195 × .145 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy.

Tāntrik

CXCII

17.2598. Devī: four-armed, with lotus, goad, bow and noose, seated on the nude extended body of Śiva, on a throne supported by figures of four female divinities. In a pavilion, on a gold circle. Tāntrik.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .208 × .288 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

[1] See Grierson in J. R. A. S., London, April, 1910; and the Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata, VII, iii, 30.

[2] With *grāha* cf. the usage of *graha* as ' the seizer,' with reference to the sense organs (Saṅkara, on the *Brahmasūtra*, 2.4.6). The 'crocodile' is plainly the principle of desire, the devil.

See also Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du sud de l'Inde*, 11, pp. 71–73 (translation of text from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*).

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RAJPUT PAINTINGS

CXCIII

17.2567. Devī as Rājrājeśvarī enthroned. She is four-handed, wears the crescent moon on her brow, and holds two lotus flowers. In accordance with the Hindī text inscribed she is adored by Śiva, Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu, the Sun and Moon, Nārada and other sages. Partly colored drawing.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .223 × .302 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed with the following Hindī *sādhana* or *lakṣaṇa*:

Āgāi digapāla pichavāre muni-nārada visārada amaṁtamati vīnā raṭibo karāi,
Dāhinai divākara nisākara sevāyeu namākara prasiddha bhāma resī bhari bo karāi.
Dvārapāla mukaṭana lāge laṭakana sobha motī abharana ke avani jharibo karāi,
Saṁbhu se svayaṁbhu se sacīpati se śrīpati mahila-maharānī ke ṭahila karibo karāi.

"First represent the Guardians of the Quarters, then the wise sage Nārada, of uncongenial temper, sounding his *vīnā:*
On the right the Sun and Moon, worshipping and bowing in adoration, glorious and radiant:
The Door-guardians with lovely pearls dangling from their crowns and falling to the ground,
And Śiva, Brahmā, Indra and Viṣṇu serving the Lady-queen."

CXCIV

17.2571. Devī as Sumukhī, four-armed, hands with a besom, shears, *loṭā*, and bowl, seated in a *maṇḍapa* upon outstretched nude figure of Śarva (Śiva), who holds the drum (*ḍamaru*) in one hand. Partly colored, and color names indicated. Reverse with Sanskrit inscription. Tāntrik.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .200 × .265 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The inscription reads: *Atha Sumukhī dhyānaṁ:*

Śarvo parisamāsīnāṁ raktāṁvara paricchadāṁ raktālaṁkārasaṁyuktāṁ guṁjāhāra vibhūṣaṇāṁ sumukhīṁ paramāhlādāṁjananīṁ sarvasaṁpadāṁ kapāla karttṛkā hastāṁ śoṇḍī sammārjanīkarāṁ, iti Sumukhī dhyānaṁ. 8 śubham.

"Seated upon Śarva (Śiva), wearing red garments, with red ornaments and adorned with a garland of *gunjā* seeds, Suṁukhī (fair faced), giving supreme delight, producing all success, with a skull cup and shears in (two) hands, and intoxicating liquor and a besom in (her other) hands. Thus the *dhyānam* of Sumukhī."

Same hand and series as Nos. CXCV–CXCVIII (M. F. A. **17.2372–75**).

PLATE LXIII.

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CXCV

17.2572. Devī as Bhuvaneśvarī, four-armed, two hands holding elephant goad and noose, two other in *vara* and *abhīti mudrās*, seated on a throne. Partly colored and color names indicated. Reverse with Sanskrit inscription. Tāntrik.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .193 × .264 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The inscription reads:

Atha Bhuvaneśvarī dhyānam: Udya-dina-dyutimiṁdu-kirīṭāṁ tuṁga-kucāṁ nayana-traye-yuktām, smeramukhīṁ varadāṁkuśa-pāśābhīti-karām prabhaje bhuvaneśīm 1

Udyadbhāsvat-samābhāṁ ruci vijita japā miṁdu khaṁḍā vatamsāṁ jyotir mauliṁ trinetrāṁ vividha-maṇi-lasat-kuṇḍalāṁ padmakāṁtaṁ kuśādhyām abhaya-vara-karām avikāṁtāṁ namāmi, iti Bhuvaneśvarī dhyānāṁ 4

"Make Bhuvaneśvarī with a smiling face, with a crown as bright as the risen sun and bearing the moon, with high, firm breasts, with three eyes, hands in *vara* and *abhīti* (=*abhaya*) positions and holding an elephant goad, and a noose.

I celebrate the gentle lady Bhuvaneśvarī like the risen sun, lovely, victorious, destroying defects in prayer, with a shining crown on her head, three-eyed, and with swinging earrings adorned with various gems, as a lotus woman (Padminī), abounding in wealth, her hands in *vara* and *abhaya mudrā*.

Thus the *dhyānam* of Bhuvaneśvarī."

It will be seen that two distinct *dhyānams* are given: the first is realized in the drawing.

Same hand and series as Nos. CXCIV, CXCVI–CXCVIII (M. F. A. **17.2571, 2573–2575**).

Color names indicated: *asamānī* = sky blue; *savaj* = green; *sanā* = gold; *sapedā-kana dī dilāna* = white with arabesque (in spandrils).

CXCVI

17.2573. Devī as Vaṅgulā-mukhī, two-armed, holding pestle and purse, seated on a lion throne in a *maṇḍapa*. Partly colored and color names indicated. Reverse with Sanskrit inscription. Tāntrik.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .194 × .263 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription reads:

Atha Vagulā-mukhī dhyānaṁ: Madhye sūrābdhi mani-maṇḍapa vedikāyāṁ siṁhāsano parigatāṁ paripītavarṇāṁ pītāṁvarābharaṇa mālya vibhūsitāṁgīṁ devīṁ smarāmi dhṛta mudgare vairi jihmāṁ, iti vagulā-mukhī dhyānam. 6.

Jihmā-gramādāya kareṇa devīṁ vāmena śatrun paripīḍayantīm gadābhi ghātenaca dakṣiṇena pītāṁvarābhyāṁ dvibhujāṁ namāmi. 7 śubham.

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Translation:

"Thus the *dhyānam* of Vaṅgulāmukhī:

I call to mind the Devī in the midst of the sea of wine, seated in a jewelled pavilion on a lion throne of bright golden hue, wearing yellow garments, and decorated with jewels and garlands, holding a club obliquely in a threatening manner, thus the *dhyānam* of Vaṅgulā-mukhī. 6.

With the left hand held obliquely forward, and in her right hand a mace as if warding off and causing utmost pain to her enemies, with yellow garments and two arms, I celebrate the Devī. 7. May it be well!"

It will be seen that two separate texts, with similar significance, are given.

Same hand and series as Nos. CXCIV, CXCV, CXCVII, CXCVIII (M. F. A. **17.2571–2575**).

CXCVII

17.2574. Devī seated as Dhūmāvatī, in a car drawn by two crows, and with a crow-banner. She is two-armed and holds a smoking bowl and an abacus. Partly colored and color names indicated. Reverse with Sanskrit inscription. Tāntrik.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .199 × .267 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The inscription reads:

Atha Dhūmāvatī dhyānaṁ: Vivarṇā-caṁcalā-duṣṭā-dīrghā ca malināṁvarā vimukta-kuṇḍalā rūkṣā-vidhavā virala-dvijā kākadhvaja rathāruḍhāvilaṁbita-payodharā sūryya-hastā tirūkṣākṣā-dhūma-hastā varānvitā pravṛddha-ghoṇā tu bhṛśaṁkuṭilā kuṭile kṣaṇā kṣutpipāsānvitā nityaṁ bhayadā kalahāsyadā. Iti Dhūmāvatī dhyānaṁ 8 Śubhaṁ.

"Thus the *dhyānam* of Dhūmāvatī:

Discolored, unsteady, unchaste, tall, with dirty garments, with her beautiful earrings lost, a miserable widow, mounted on a car, with a crow banner, (drawn by) two separate birds, with hanging breasts, the sun [1] in (one) hand and noisome smoke in (the other) hand, a big swollen nose, frowning, crooked and murderous, suffering from hunger and thirst, ever inspiring fear and instigating quarrels. Thus the *dhyānam* of Dhūmāvatī."

Same hand and series as Nos. CXCIV–CXCVI, CXCVIII (M. F. A. **17.2571–2573, 2575**).

CXCVIII

17.2575. Chinnamastā (a decapitated form of Devī) with her own head in her left hand, standing between two other Devīs, upon Kāmadeva and Rati, lying on an expanded lotus. Reverse with detailed *dhyānam*, in finely written Nāgarī characters. Tāntrik.

[1] In the drawing, an abacus.

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Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .200 × .268 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Atha Chinnamastā dhyānam:

Svanābhau nīrajaṁ dhyāyet sasyaka vikasitaṁsitam pūrvavat sakalaṁ dhyātvā rati kandarppa saṁyutam 1

Rati kāmopari sthāntu dhyāyet devīṁ manoramāṁ tanmadhye tāṁ mahādevīm akāla jaladopamām 2

Chinnamastāṁ kare vāme dhārayatīṁ svasastakām prasārita mukhīṁ devīṁ lelihānaugra jihvikām 3

Pivaṁtīṁ raktadhārāṁca nija kaṁṭha samuddhavām vikīrṇa keśapāśāṁtāṁ nāna puṣpa vibhūṣitām 4

Dakṣiṇeca kare kartrīṁ muṇḍamālā vibhūṣitāṁ śatārddhana nṛmuṇḍena mālāstaka parikalpitām 5

Anyonya keśapāśena grathitāṁ sumanoharām digaṁvarāṁ mahārūpāṁ pratyālīḍhapadā sthitām 6

Asthimālā dharāṁ devīṁ nāga yajñopavītinīm sadā ṣoḍaśavarṣīyām pīnonnata payodharāṁ 7

Nāgāṁgadām nāgakāñcīn nāga-nūpara saṁgatāṁ nāga-kuṇḍala saṁyuktāṁ aṣṭanāga samavitān 8

Anaṁtovāsakiścaiva takṣaḥkarkkīṭa padmakau mahāpadmas tathā śaṁkhaḥ kulikoṣṭau prakīrtitāḥ 9

Anaṁtakulikau viprau karṇa-mūle niyojitau vahni-varṇau mahāsattvau sahasra phaṇa saṁyutau 10

Vāsakiḥ śaṁkhapālaśca kṣatriyau pīta varṇakau pratyekaṁtu phaṇā saptaśat saṁkhyā sama tvitau 11

Nāgahārāṁ nāgakāṁcīṁ yathā syāna niyojitām takṣakaśca mahāpadmo vaiṣyāvetāvudāhṛtau 12

Nilavarṇā phaṇā paṁcaśat yuktau tu sāṁgakau aṁgadaṁ karthataṁ devyāstābhyāṁ yuktāṁ manoharām 13

Padmakarkkoṭakau śūdrau raktavarṇāvudāhṛtau phaṇā triśat saṁyuktau nūpurau sumanoharau 14

Tābhyāṁ yuktāṁ chinnamastāṁ dhyāyed dhyāna samādhita ḍākinī varṇanī yuktāṁ vāmadakṣiṇa pārśvataḥ 15

Dakṣiṇe varṇinīṁ dhyāyed vāma pārśve tu ḍākinīṁ varṇinīṁ śyāmalāṁ dhyāyet mukta-keśīṁ digamvarām 16

Kapāla kartrikā hastāṁ vāmadakṣiṇa yogataḥ devyā dakṣiṇa nāḍyāstu dhārāyānaṁ prakurvatīm 17

Muṇḍamālā dharāṁ devīṁ nāgayajñopavītinīm devyāḥ sadṛsa rūpeṇa bhūṣaṇena-ca bhūṣitāṁ 18

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Ḍākinī vāma pārśve tu kalpāṁta-jvalanopamān vidvadagni samudbhūtāṁ trinetrāṁ sumanoharām 19

Dāḍimī bīja sadṛśa daṁta paṁkti virājitāṁ daṁṣṭrā karāla vadanāṁ pīnnonnata payodharām 20

Mahādevīṁ muktakeśīṁ mahāghorāṁ digaṁvarām laṁbodarīṁ kālarātrīṁ nāga yajñopavītinīm 21

Lelihānograrasanāṁ muṇḍamālā vibhūṣitām kapāla kartrikā hastāṁ vāmadakṣiṇa yogataḥ 22

Vāma nāḍyā galadraktadhārāyānaṁ prakurvatīṁ kara-sthita-kapālena bhīṣanenāti bhīṣaṇām 23

Ābhyāṁ niṣevyamānāṁtu dhyāyed dhyāna samādhitā evaṁ dhyātvā yajet devīṁ manasā bhakti yogataḥ 24

Iti Chinnamastā dhyānam 1. Śubham.

Translation. "Thus the dhyānam of Chinnamastā:

1. He should contemplate her as self-born, resplendent, perfectly shining white, and in just the same way Kāmadeva and Rati in union:
2. He should contemplate charmingly beautiful goddesses standing on Rati and Kāma, and the Great Goddess between them, with unseasonable storm clouds,
3. Chinnamastā holding in her left hand her own head, the goddess with open mouth and eagerly protruded tongue
4. Drinking the red stream springing from her own throat, with a mass of dishevelled hair adorned with many flowers,
5. In her right hand a pair of shears, and adorned with a garland of heads, a necklace of skulls to the number of fifty:
6. And the heavy tresses of both arranged with infinite charm, these Mahārūpās standing naked face to face with one foot advanced:
7. The goddess wearing a garland of bones, with a serpent sacred thread, and ever with the firm full breasts of a girl of sixteen summers,
8. Adorned with serpent armlets, serpent girdle, serpent anklets and serpent earrings, eight serpents in all,
9. To wit, Ananta and Vāsaki, Takṣa, Karkkoṭa, Padma, Mahāpadma, Śaṅkha and Kulika:
10. Ananta and Kulika are Brāhmaṇs, tied at the base of the ear, of the colour of fire, altogether pure, with a thousand hoods:
11. Vāsaki and Śaṅkhapāla are Kṣattriyas, and yellow, each with full seven hundred hoods
12. These are the serpent necklace and serpent girdle tied in like manner: Takṣaka and Mahāpadma are to be known as Vaiṣyas,
13. And are blue, with five hundred hoods; and these are the armlets — adorned with these:

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14. Padma and Karkkoṭa are Śūdras, to be known as red in colour, with three hundred hoods, and these are the beautiful anklets:
15. Adorned with these he should contemplate Chinnamastā, with a Ḍākinī to right and to left.
16. On the right hand he should contemplate a Ḍākinī seen from the left, of dusky hue, and naked, with dishevelled tresses,
17. A skull cup in the left and a pair of shears in the right hand, taking the stream from the goddess' right hand vein —
18. This goddess wearing a garland of skulls and a serpent sacred thread, divinely fashioned and adorned with jewels
19. This Ḍākinī with the fire that marks the end of an age springing up on her left hand side, and beautified by three eyes,
20. With a row of shining teeth like pomegranate seeds, with a gaping mouth and projecting fangs, and full firm breasts.
21. The other great goddess with dishevelled tresses, very terrible, naked, big-bellied, black as night, with a serpent sacred thread,
22. With savouring tongue, adorned with a garland of skulls, and with skull cup and shears in left and right hand,
23. Taking the ruddy stream from the left hand vein of the throat, with a skull in her hand, most awful.
24. Let him contemplate the *dhyānam* in *samādhi* with reverence, and having so contemplated, let him worship the Goddess with heartfelt devotion.

Thus the *dhyānam* of Chinnamastā. May it be well!"

A characteristic Tāntrik *dhyānam* or prescription for worship or plastic realization.

Chinnamastā is identical with the Buddhist Tāntrik divinity Vajrayoginī. B. Bhattacarya has suggested that "this Buddhist goddess has been borrowed and incorporated wholly by the Hindus into their Pantheon" (*The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 1924, p. 155).

Same hand and series as Nos. CXCIV–CXCVII.

CXCIX

17.2576. Gāyatrī, five-faced and ten-armed, seated on lotus surrounded by implements of worship. Vidyādharas and Nārada in the clouds. Fully coloured. Sanskrit inscription.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .14 × .205 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Gāyatrī: name of a particular metre and of a famous verse of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, addressed to the sun, and repeated daily by all twice-born Hindus. This Gāyatrī mantram is personified, as a goddess (wife of Brahmā and mother of the Four Vedas), and

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represented in various forms. The *dhyānam* or *sādhana* of this particular form — that is, the prescription for forming the mental image here projected — is quoted above the picture itself, as follows:

> *Muktā-vidruma-hema-nīla-dhavala-cchāyair-mukhe strī taṇair-yuktā miṁdu-nibaddha ratna-mukuṭā tattvārtha varṇāsmikām. Gāyatrīṁ varadābhayāṅkuśa kaśāṁ śubhraṁ kapālaṁ guṇaṁ śaṁkhaṁ cakra mathāraviṁdayugalaṁ hastair vahantīṁ.*
>
> "I celebrate Gāyatrī according to her nature, as a woman who has attained to spiritual freedom, having coral, golden, white, blue and dusky faces arranged in a row, with a jewelled crown adorned by the moon, bearing in her hands (the seals of) 'charity' and 'fear not,' an elephant goad, a whip, a shining skull, a rosary, a chank, a whirling discus, and two lotus flowers."

The painting closely follows the prescription.

PLATE LXIII.

CC

17.2581. Śiva (five-headed) and Pārvatī worshipped by kings and saints. Tāntrik.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .272 × .178 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Śiva is five-headed and four-armed, with axe, deer, and bowl, Pārvatī is seated on his left thigh in attitude of adoration. Nandi reclines in the foreground.

CCI

17.2600. Gāyatrī (or Sarasvatī), with four faces red, white, golden, and dark, and four hands holding discus, spoon, axe and ladle, seated on expanded lotus; *haṁsa* to right (her vehicle, as Brahmāṇī).

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .121 × .084 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Miscellaneous

CCII

17.2545. Obverse: a lady making *pūjā* to Śiva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu. Officiating Brāhmans, and maids. Courtyard with a marriage pavilion, and high hills beyond. Reverse: a lady's toilet (putting on the anklet). Red drawing over fainter underdrawing (tracing or copy).

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .187 × .269 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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Perhaps by the same hand as **17.2474.** Also recalls C., *R. P.*, Pl. LXIII. Cf. also *Indian Drawings* II, Pl. x, 2.

Probably from a series illustrating the marriage of Pārvatī (the top of a marriage pavilion is seen beyond the canvas partition, near the musicians).

Obverse: Pārvatī is seated before images of Śiva, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa), and is making *arghya* offering to Śiva, instructed by the Brāhman before her and aided by her maids. The bearded priest, holding an *arghya-pātra* in his left hand, is offering *pūjā* to the *yantra* before him, and reciting *mantra*.

The Sanskrit text of two lines above appears to be disconnected with the subject of the picture: the first line is invocatory and names the gods to be propitiated, viz., the Aśvins, Agni, Maitreya; the second line indicates Monday, Thursday and Friday as good days to begin a work of art.

Reverse: the adornment of the bride. For a description of what constitutes the full toilet of a princess see *Prema Sāgara*, Ch. LXIII (Uṣā).

CCIII

17.2547. Gaṇeśa enthroned, four-armed, with axe (*tanka*), goad (*ankuśa*), plate of food (*bhojana*) and tusk, worshipped by a Sikh warrior with offerings of food. Perhaps the initial drawing of a series. Brush drawing.

Pahāṛī (Sikh?), nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .217 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCIV

17.2552. Decapitation of Rāhu by Mohinī, after the churning of the ocean. Brush drawing over white priming, partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .254 × .164 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Following the churning of the ocean, when the nectar (*amṛta* = elixir of life) had been produced and was in possession of the *daityas* or *asuras* (demons), Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) assumed a ravishing female form (Mohinī) and coquetted with the *asuras*. The bewildered demons surrendered the nectar to the beautiful Mohinī. She then gave it to the gods to drink. One of the demons, Rāhu, however, disguised as a god, also received the drink. When this was discovered and made known, Mohinī cast the discus of Viṣṇu and decapitated Rāhu. But the effects of the liquor could not be destroyed, the head and trunk of Rāhu continue to live, and the head in revenge "to this day swallows the Sun and Moon," being regarded as the cause of solar and lunar eclipses (*Mahābhārata*).

PLATE LXI.

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RAJPUT PAINTINGS

CCV

17.2563. Recto, Pārvatī in Himālayan landscape worshipping a Śiva liṅgam, red outline clumsily redrawn in ink; verso, toilet scene, maidens dressing a lady's long hair, red brush outline.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .170 × .212 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCVI

17.2570. Devī-pūjā: a Brāhman seated before a four-armed figure of Devī, enthroned, his hand (holding a rosary) concealed in a *gomukha* glove. Implements of worship on the ground. Partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .18 × .12 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Illustrates the ritual of personal worship, probably in daily *Sandhyā* ceremonies. The image of the divinity is visualized, and here represented as if actually seen. Compare C., *R. P.*, Pl. VII (now in the Freer gallery). For visualization, see S. C. Basu, *Daily Practice of the Hindus*, S. B. H., Allahābād; C., *R. P.*, p. 40; and Foucher, A., *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, II, Paris, 1905, p. 8.

PLATE LXIV.

CCVII

17.2601. Gaṅgā Devī (goddess of the Ganges): four-armed, holding two golden jars with lotus flowers, seated on expanded lotus, supported by a large fish swimming in the river, with low hills beyond. Colored: much damaged.

Pāhāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .189 × .251 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCVIII

17.2622. Brāhmaṇical ceremonies: a Brāhman priest in three positions, before a house, night scene, moonlight.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .272 × .193 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with Sanskrit inscription:

Apā(pa) mārgaṁ tathā tumbī tṛtīyaṁ cakramarddhakaṁ 1
Bhrāmayet snānam adhyetu narakasya kṣāyavai.
Sītā loṣṭaka saṁyuktaṁ sakaṁṭa kadalānvitaṁ 2
Apāpa mārgame pāpaṁ bhrāmya mānuṁ punaḥ punaḥ
Taile lakṣmī jale gaṅgā dīpā valpām caturdasī 3
Candra chāyā kṛtaṁ snānaṁ yamalokaṁ na paśyati

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and date, in another hand:

Oṁ Śrī saṁvat 1952 *ākṛ* 14 *Caṁdre Naṁdapure*

I should suppose this date to be later than that of the painting, which may, however, possibly be as late as 1895 A.D., the equivalent of S. 1952. Nandapur is presumably a place. The Sanskrit text refers to the ceremonies in a vague manner as a means of avoiding the path of sin, and he who performs the ceremonial bath — shown in the picture to the left — 'will not see death.'

CCIX

17.2599. Three small paintings of *a*, Gaṇeśa, *b*, Durgā and *c*, Viṣṇu, oval with gold borders.

Pahāṛī, Kāśmīr school, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, *a*, .050 × .043 m., *b*, .057 × .045 m., *c*, .052 × .045 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Originally in a Tāntrik MS. obtained in Kaśmīr.

PLATE LXIII.

CCX

17.2680. Kṛṣṇa with two *gopīs*, on a lotus. Also design of three fish on triangle. Colored.

Oudh, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .105 × .144 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.

CCXI

17.2822. Śiva as Bhairava dancing in landscape beside a temple, attended by a *gana* and a dancing cobra. Possibly Bhairava Rāga.

Patna? eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .151 × .227 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LX.

D. KṚṢṆA LĪLĀ

1. RĀJASTHĀNĪ

CCXII

21.1675. Page (f. 17) of a mansucript dealing with the legend of Kṛṣṇa. Reverse: text in a kind of Dakhanī Hindī mixed with Sanskrit, mentioning Kṛṣṇa, Devakī, Yaśodā, Kaṁsa, Keśīya, Pūtanā, etc. Obverse: picture covering the whole page, a terrace with palace and gardens in the background; a crowned king, evidently Kaṁsa, enthroned, another crowned figure standing beside him; a girl, apparently intended to be

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Devakī's changeling, lying across the knees of the seated king, others in distress beside him; attendants. In bright colors and gold, the whites blackened by decomposition. The forms of the crown and throne indicate the eighteenth century, the woman's costume (especially as regards the black tassels and the form of the earrings) is of older type.

Rājasthānī, perhaps by a Jaipur painter at the Mārāṭhī court. Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .28 × .17 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Text:

. . . nhāṇe harī si deti
Iṁdra caṁdra prajāpati, carapha ḍiti nija padā. 78.
Te veḷīm uṭhī kṛṣṇa-nātha, kaṁsa keśiyā karī ghāta
Devāṁ nija padīṁ rachāpita, amara-nātha śrī kṛṣṇa. 79.
Kṛṣṇā aisā tribuddhi, udārana dekhoṁ svātma buddhi,
Sevakāṁ baisavī nija padīṁ, akṣaya siddha deuni 80.
Neṁdī-ca devakī yaśodeśī, te gati dī dhalī pūtane sī
Samāna dene ari mitrāsi, udārate sikāya varṇu 81.
Nija pade-sī kṛṣṇa-nātha, bhaktāsi āpaṇiyāṁ deta
Āpaṇa hoya bhaktāṁkita, rāhe tiṣṭha tathyāpāsīṁ 82.
Bhakta ajñā māni moṭi, siṁha śuka hoya jaga jeṭhī
Pragaṭa lākoraḍe kàṣṭhīm vacanāṁ sāṭhīṁ. . . .

The cerebral ḷ (in v. 79), and ṇ, in *āpaṇiyāṁ* (in v. 82) are characteristic of Western Hindī.

Translation:

"When Indra, Candra, and Prajāpati bowed at his feet,
Then Lord Kṛṣṇa arose, and made an end of Kaṁsa and Keśiya;
By his own might he protected the gods, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of Immortals.
Kṛṣṇa, of whose threefold wisdom the wisdom of your own soul is the witness,
Who gives a deathless mastery to those his servants who have faith in him,
Who blessed Devakī with universal fame, and gave release to such a woman as Pūtanā,
Who gave alike to friend and foe, who is an incarnation of compassion:
Lord Kṛṣṇa, who grants his Lovers to fall at his feet,
And deeply affected by his Lovers, descends and follows the common path:
And bearing the burden of his Lover's asking, appears as Lion and Boar, foremost in the world,
By whose grace the trees do grow . . . ."

PLATE LXV.

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CCXIII

17.2908. Men and women in landscape regarding a four-headed and four-armed child lying on the ground.

Rājasthānī, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .170 × .202 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The style and coloring are unusual. The scene suggests a Musalmān cemetery. I cannot identify the subject unless it is connected with the birth of Kṛṣṇa, or with a manifestation of his divine nature.

PLATE LXIX.

CCXIV

17.73. Kṛṣṇa in Rādhā's house: she seated in a chamber opening on a terrace, conversing with her *sakhis*, he on the terrace addressing another *sakhī*. By Nathu.

Rājasthānī. Dated Saṁvat 1751 = A.D. 1694.

Dimensions, .135 × .198 m. Harriet Otis Cruft fund.

The full signature reads:

Amal-i-Nathu saṁvat 1751 in Persian characters and on the reverse side in Nāgarī characters *Kām Nathu. . . . 1751 vārṣe.*

Almost unique as a signed and dated Rājasthāni painting.

PLATE LXVI.

CCXV

17.3038. Kṛṣṇa Veṇugopāla, standing with the flute under a *kaḍamba* tree, a cow licking his feet; attended by a *gopa* and *gopī*.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .192 × .252 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXVI

17.3081. *Rās Līlā:* cartoon of Kṛṣṇa dancing; brush outline pricked for reproduction by pouncing. Restored below the knees by Miss D. M. Larcher.

Rājput, Rājasthānī, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .86 × 1.65 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Nos. CCXVI–CCXIX are reproduced together, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian Drawings*, II, Pl. II. From the same series are C., *R. P.*, Pls. IX, X, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. The finished pictures are in the Palace Library (*pothī khāna*), Jaipur.

CCXVII

17.3082. *Rās Līlā:* cartoon of Rādhā dancing, brush outline pricked for reproduction by pouncing.

Dimensions, .77 × 1.465 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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CCXVIII

17.3084. *Rās Līlā:* chorus of four *gopīs.* Transfer from a large Rājasthānī cartoon of the eighteenth century, brush outline made by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Dimensions, .745 × 2.2 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCXIX

17.3083. *Rās Līlā:* chorus of seven *gopīs.* Transfer from a large Rājasthānī cartoon of the eighteenth century. A brush outline made by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Dimensions, .755 × .252 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cult of Śrī Nātha-jī

CCXX

17.2904. Installation of the image of Śrī Nātha-jī (Kṛṣṇa).

Rājasthānī, Nāthadvar, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .332 × .238 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The greater part of the picture is occupied by the hill Govardhana, represented in archaic technique and mainly bright blue. In the upper left hand corner a cow is offering her milk to the buried image; on the right, Nimbārka installing the image in the shrine prepared for it. On the left, below, other Tailaṅga Brāhmans, in adoration, and a servant with a bale of offerings. On the right, Rājput princes (one doubtless Rāj Siṅgh of Udaipur) in adoration, and princesses or *gopīs* with offerings of milk. Groves, villages, tanks and shrines in the foreground.

Reproduced: C., *R. P.*, Pl. XIV and vol. I, p. 41. (Purchased in Brussels.)

PLATE LXVII.

CCXXI

17.2905. Discovery and installation of the image of Śrī Nātha-jī on Mt. Govardhana.

Rājasthānī, Nāthadvar, nineteenth century. (Obtained in Mathurā.)

Dimensions, .165 × .136 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Almost identical with No. CCXX (M. F. A. **17.2904**) in composition, but with two additional figures on the left above — apparently discovering the buried image, revealed by the milk offering of the cow; the male and female figures on the right transposed.

CCXXII

17.2906. Śrī Nātha-jī with Rādhā. Blue figures, white ground, red diaper.

Rājasthānī, Nāthadvār, nineteenth century. (Obtained in Mathurā.)

Dimensions, .125 × .170 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Śrī Nātha-jī (= Kṛṣṇa) wearing the peacock crest and many garlands of flowers, with right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* ('do not fear'), the left holding a cup of milk and two lotus flowers offered by Rādhā who stands with folded hands in adoration. I do not

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know that the image at Nāthadvār has ever been examined, it may well be a Kuṣāna Buddhist figure, with the hand as usual in *abhaya mudrā*, as in all the representations of Śrī Nātha-jī.[1]

Here as also in No. CCXXIII (M. F. A. **17.2907**) and in the shrine represented in No. CCXX (M. F. A. **17.2904**) the shrine itself seems to represent the cave or underground chamber in which the image was originally discovered.

PLATE LXVII.

CCXXIII

17.2907. Śrī Nātha-jī with Rādhā. Black figures, silver costume, red ground; above, black spotted with yellow, silver cows.

Rājasthānī, Nāthadvār, nineteenth century. (Obtained in Mathurā.)

Dimensions, .110 × .154 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Like No. CCXXII (M. F. A. **17.2906**), but Śrī Nātha-jī has only the cup of milk, without the lotus flowers, and cows on Mt. Govardhana are represented above the shrine cell.

PLATE LXVII.

2. PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

CCXXIV

17.2804. Kṛṣṇa with the flute: *gopas* and cows, water with expanded rose lotuses in foreground.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .241 × .162 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced, C., *R. P.*, Pl. XXXI.

PLATE LXX.

CCXXV

17.3201. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, she offering him betel, he standing on an expanded rose lotus.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .135 × .187 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Rādhā holds the *pāndān* or betel box in her right hand and offers Kṛṣṇa a prepared leaf (*pān supārī*) with her left. Kṛṣṇa in the usual costume — yellow *dhotī* and peacock crown, leaning on a crook (*baisākhī*). The white fluttering scarf is treated in archaic fashion.

The *pāndān* is evidently of *bidrī* ware (silver overlaid on black alloy).

Reproduced, C., *R. P.*, Pl. XXXII.

Same hand and style as C., *R. P.*, Pl. XXX, and No. CCXXIV of this Catalogue.

PLATE LXV.

[1] For the iconography of Śri-Nātha-jī, Gokula-Candra-Rāma-jī, Mathureśa-jī, Gokula-Nātha-jī, Madana-Mohana-jī, Dvārikā-Nātha-jī, Viṭhala-Nātha-jī, and Navanīta-Priyā-jī, all closely related forms of Kṛṣṇa, see (Karsandass Mulji) *History of the Sect of Mahārājas or Vallābhāchāryas of Western India*, London, 1866, plate facing p. 100.

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3. Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā

Bāla-Kṛṣṇa

CCXXVI

17.2452. Kṛṣṇa stealing butter: he is mounted on the back of a boy who sits on a rice-mortar, and is handing down the butter to his companions. In the foreground a broken pot of curd. Second drawing over white priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .149 × .208 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Prema Sāgara, Ch. X: "Breaking the vessels of curd and butter-milk, snapping the churning stick, and taking a pot full of butter, he ran among the cowherd boys. . . . He found a mortar placed upside down, on which he mounted and sat, and causing his companions to sit around, he began to chuckle, to share among them the butter, and to eat."

CCXXVII

17.2477. Yaśodā churning, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma begging for their breakfast. Tracing in red, redrawn in black. Color names indicated in script.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .145 × .187 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Prema Sāgara, Ch. X: "At that time in the house of Nand, such a noise of curd-churning was going on, as though a cloud were thundering. Hereupon Kṛṣṇa woke up, and set-to crying and calling out 'Mother, Mother!' When nobody heard his shouting, he himself came to Yaśoda and said 'Mother, I called thee several times, but thou didst not come to give me breakfast; is not thy work done yet?'"

CCXXVIII

17.2482. Yaśodā (?) with infant Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, on a bed. Second drawing in black over red on unprimed paper. Colors indicated in script.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .261 × .186 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

With four lines of Hindī text, incomplete.

Kāliya damana

CCXXIX

17.2450. *Kāliya damana:* quelling of the Nāga Kāliya. Kṛṣṇa is in the water struggling with the many-hooded *nāga*: on the bank are Nanda and women of Bṛndāban, the village is seen above with women coming through the gate. Herdsmen stupefied by the poison of the *nāga* are lying on the bank. Brush drawing over white priming.

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Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .363 × .249 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXVIII.

CCXXX

17.2481. *Kāliya damana:* departure of Kāliya with his *nāginīs* to Ramanakadvīpa. Kṛṣṇa embraced by Yaśodā and Nand. The return home. Crude provincial drawing on unprimed paper.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .312 × .260 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as No. CCXXXI (M. F. A. **17.2480**).

C., *R. P.*, pp. 30, 31.

Prema Sāgara, Ch. XVII: "Kāli with his family went to Raunak Dīp; and Śrī Kṛṣṇa Cand came out of the water."

Mt. Govardhana

CCXXXI

17.2480. Circumambulation of Mt. Govardhana. Crude drawing on unprimed paper

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .310 × .240 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as No. CCXXX (M. F. A. **17.2481**).

Nal and Kūvar

CCXXXIA

17.2624. The release of Nal and Kūvar from enchantment, accomplished by the young Kṛṣṇa, notwithstanding he has been tied by Yaśodā to a wooden mortar to keep him out of mischief.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .141 × .177 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Prema Sāgara, Ch. XI: Kuver's two sons named Nal and Kūvar, were in Kailās, but behaved in an unseemly manner. Nārada finding them thus put the curse upon them, that they should become trees in Gokula. "Having remembered this affair, Śrī Kṛṣṇa dragged along the wooden mortar to the place where the Yamalārjun trees were . . . both the trees were uprooted from the root; and two handsome men, having issued from them, with joined hands, praising him, began to say, 'O Lord! who but you would take thought of such great sinners as us.'"

PLATE LXIX.

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Godhūli

CCXXXII

17.2617. The Hour of Cowdust (*godhūli belā*): Kṛṣṇa with other *gopas* bringing back the herds to Bṛndāban at sundown. Second drawing over white priming, partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .151 × .200 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, C., *R. P.*, pp. 4, 24, 30 and Pl. LII. Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, No. 96.

Perhaps by the same hand as No. CCXXIII (M. F. A. **22.683**).

PLATE LXXI.

CCXXXIII

22.683. The Hour of Cowdust (*godhūli belā*): Kṛṣṇa with other *gopas* bringing back the herds to Bṛndāban at sundown. Gopīs bringing water from the river, others looking from the windows to welcome Kṛṣṇa. Yaśodā with Balarāma in the cowyard, Nand-jī with friends in the pavilion (*barādarī*) above. Fully colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .215 × .272 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, C., *R. P.*, pp. 24, 30 and Pl. LI; *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXVIII; M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 122; Diez, *Die Kunst Indiens*.

Perhaps by the same hand as No. CCXXXII (M. F. A. **17.2617**).

The name of 'cowdust' (*godhūli* or *dhenu dhūli*) is applied by the country people to the hour of sunset, when the cattle are returning from pasture and raising dense clouds of dust along the narrow lanes. It is the purest and most auspicious hour of the day, '*vimala sakala sumaṅgala mūla*,' says Tulsī Dās — *Rāmcarit Mānas*, Bālakāṇḍam, *dohā* 318. *Vāyavya*, the wind that is mixed with the dust raised by cows, is classed among the seven substitutes for bathing which may be resorted to when unavoidable circumstances prevent the use of water (Sris Chandra Vidyarnava, *Daily Practice of the Hindus*, ed. 2, p. 24). Cf. also "When they troop home, our tiny street wears beauty like a diadem," from the Pañjābī *Hīr and Rāñjhā*.

PLATE LXXII.

Veṇugopāla

CCXXXIV

17.1351. Śrī Kṛṣṇa Veṇugopāla, under trees beside the Jamna, and two *gopīs* offering *pān-supārī* (betel) and a lotus flower. Cows drinking from the river. Full colour.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .192 × .258 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE LXXX.

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CCXXXV

17.2461. Kṛṣṇa's flute: *gopīs* seated in a room swooning and stopping their ears. Kṛṣṇa playing the flute on a hillside without. Drawing in black on unprimed paper.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .210 × .277 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed with Hindī text in Nāgarī characters.

(Kavitta):

Sunati ho kahā bhaji-jāhu gharem̀, phasa jāyagī
maina ke bānana mauṁ,
E baṁsī na bāja bharī viṣasī viṣa, sau bhari
rākhati prā̃nana kauṁ,
Sudhi bhūli hai hāla jau merī bhaṭū, bibhasyo
mana nīkīsī tānana mauṁ,
Kula-kā̃na jau āpanī rākhyo cahau, aṁgurī de
rahau doū kānana mauṁ.

"Do you hear how (the flute) is being played? go home, or you will be caught in the snare of the arrows of Love;
This is not simply the sound of a flute, but venomous poison, that takes possession of the soul,
My senses are lost in rapture, my sister, and my soul is dissolved in its strains:
If ye would save your family honour, then keep your fingers in both your ears."

The rendering of the last half of the third line is tentative.

Cf. Kabīr: "Only she wakes, whose heart is pierced with the arrow of His music."

C., *R. P.*, p. 32.

PLATE LXXXII.

CCXXXVI

17.2607. Kṛṣṇa with the flute, seated with other herdsmen under a sacred tree, with cows; one of the herdsmen dancing. Soft colors.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .146 × .209 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXIX.

CCXXXVII

17.2619. Kṛṣṇa with the flute: beneath a group of trees beside the Jamna. *Gopīs* right and left offering betel, etc., one with a fly-whisk. *Gopas*, and cows; one of the *gopas* drinking from the river. Cumulus clouds and magnificent sunset. Second drawing over white priming, background colored, figures unfinished.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

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Dimensions, .251 × .309 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, C., *R. P.*, p. 32 and Pl. LV; M. F. A. Bulletin No. 102.

PLATE LXXIII.

CCXXXVIII

19.132. Kṛṣṇa with the flute, standing under a *kadamba* tree, attended by two *gopīs*, the Jamna in the foreground. Soft powdery color.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .137 × .181 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

This picture, with the Gīta Govinda series (Nos. CCLXXIX–CCLXXXI) affords the best example of the 'early Kāṅgṛā' style. These works evidently date somewhat before the time of Saṁsār Cand, but perhaps not earlier than the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Published, C., *R. P.*, Pl. XL; M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 102.

PLATE LXXIV.

CCXXXIX

25.527. Rādhā swooning at the sound of Kṛṣṇa's flute; landscape, the Jamna in the foreground, forest concealing Kṛṣṇa on the right, meadow with Rādhā and three maids swooning on the left. Hindī text in Nāgarī characters above. Outline and wash drawing.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .291 × .197 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

C., *R. P.*, p. 32.

Text: *Eka ora bījanā dūlāvata catura nāra eka ora jhārī kara liye sakhī pāna kī*
Pāche tẽ khavāsana khavāveṁ pāna khola khola rādhe mukha lālī jauṁ camakata utāna kī
Vāhī same bāṁsurī bajāī nanda-nandana jū, vākoṁ sudha āī vāhī kuñjana ke thāna ki
Bāeṁ girī nikhārī dāhane samīravārī pāche pānadānavārī āge bṛkhabhāna kī

"On the one side a clever woman plies the fan, on the other side a *sakhī* holds in her hand the box of betel,
From behind (another handmaid) gives her *pān* to eat, and when Rādhā opens her mouth the scarlet of her lips flashes out, —
Just at that moment the son of Nand played his flute, and there came upon her remembrance of the place of those bowers,
The *nikhārī* fell on the left, the *samīrvārī* on the right, the *pāndānvārī* behind, and the daughter of Vṛṣa in front."

The designations of Rādhā's maids are as follows:
nikhārī, one who prepares sweetmeats, the candy-maid,
samīr-vārī, the maid who plies the fan, and
pandān-vārī, the maid who carries the *pān-supārī*, 'betel.'

PLATE LII.

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Dudhādhārī

CCXL

17.2620. Śrī Kṛṣṇa Dudhādhārī: Kṛṣṇa disguised as a milkmaid, wearing a black *dupaṭṭa* and milking a white cow. Rādhā standing to the right, with a calf, cowsheds beyond. Considerably damaged.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .153 × .181 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, C., *R. P.*, pp. 8, 22, 34, and Pl. XLV; *P. I. A.*, Pl. LXXVI; Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, No. 102; Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Śiva.*

Representing one of the devices such as are much spoken of in the poems of Caṇḍīdās employed by Kṛṣṇa to effect his meetings with Rādhā. The subject is a favorite one (see No. CCXLI (M. F. A. **22.365**), and Goetz, H., *Indische Miniaturen in Berliner Museen*, Münchner Jahrb. der bildenden Kunst, XIII, 2, 1923, *abb.* 8).

PLATE LXXV.

CCXLI

22.365. Śṛī Kṛṣṇa Dudhādhārī: Kṛṣṇa milking a cow which turns to lick him; three *gopīs*, one stroking the cow, one holding the calf. The *nāgarī* letters written on the cow's haunches read: Śrī Kṛṣṇa Dudhādhārī.

Black brush outline over yellow sketch.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .175 × .112 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, C., *R. P.*, p. 34, fig. 3.

See No. CCXL (M. F. A. **17.2620**).

PLATE LXX.

CCXLII

25.537. Folded sheet containing four drawings in red. (*A*) Kṛṣṇa's bath, (*B*) Kṛṣṇa Dudhādhārī, (*C*) Landscape below the walls of Bṛndāban, Kṛṣṇa walking in one direction, Rādhā in another in search of him, with Hindī text in Nāgarī characters above, (*D*) *Virahinī*, a lady on a terrace looking at the clouds, and pointing them out to her *sakhī*, also with Hindī text. Color names indicated in script.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .167 × .260 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Text of *C*:

K(avitta):

Kadam rila (?) tīra pūchati adhīra gopā ānana rukho hoge ṛoka roī marõhau so,
Bīra hā hamārī . . cautarā te nikasi bhājyau hvai karila jauhau so,
Eso rūpa eso bhesa hamaih dikhaiyo, dekhi tahīṁ rasa pãna nainani chubhauhau so,
Mukaṭa jhukõhau hāra hiya rāhārõho, kaṭa phaiṭa piyarā rauhõ, aṁga aṁga samrau-
hau so.

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Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa crossed the threshold (*cautarā*) of Gokula gate together, but Kṛṣṇa has disappeared. In the first line, scarcely legible, Rādhā is asking the trees (*kadamba*, etc.) and the Jamna where Kṛṣṇa has gone, then:

"My Bīr came over the threshold and vanished in the *karila* bushes
With his gleaming crown and the garland bright on his breast, and a yellow sash around his waist, and every limb delightful—
Show me that form and appearance, and my eyes shall drink him in!"

Text of *D*: (the first line is almost illegible)

(Kavit)ta: Barasata meghanu abata mada me danī me . . . dāmanī damaki sira bhūṣaṇa prakāsakara,
Kāre kāre ati-ḥī ḍarāre na ṭarata na ṭ̃āre śravana samīra jhakajhoratā taralatara,
Pāṇḍava ke pūtanu sau kīnī prīta prananātha jāna kai anātha baira līata anātha bara,
Jei gaja bhāratha mai bharamāe bhīmasena, teī aba gājata hai gokula nagara para. 1.
Sarada sasī te adha sasī hvai bacī hauṁ, taisẽ cinṁtāmaṅi hima au sisira kī jhamakateṁ,
Bāra bāra māra kī maroratem̃ basaṁtaũhu mẽ kaisẽhũ̃ bacī hõ teja gṛṣama tamakateṁ
Ayo pāpi pāvasa phadãna lāge prãna mere, bhāgo rī asāṛha ghanaghora kī ghanakateṁ,
Tāpatẽ tacoṁgī jo pẽ amina acoṁgī ālī aba na bacoṁgī capalãna kī camakateṁ.

1. "Now the clouds are pouring down their maddening showers; the flashing lightning lights up the jewels in my hair,
"Black, black and very terrifying, immovable despite the wind of Śrāvan violently shaking the trees.
You, Lord of my Life, entered into friendship with the sons of Pāṇḍu, and knowing them to be lordless, avenged them, O Support of the lordless,
You are now in Gokula, taking your pleasure (or 'thundering'), who wert an elephant in Bhārata when Bhīmasena went astray."
2. "Only by waning to the half of a moon have I escaped from the Autumn moon, like a wishing-stone faintly gleaming through snow and ice (or 'the winter cold');
My heart wrung again and again by the Spring as well, how then can I escape from the heat of Summer?
Now cruel Pāvasa (the months of Śrāvan and Bhādon) has come to strangle the breath of my life and the sound of their thunders has put to flight Asāḍh,
I shall burn in a fiery furnace, like an *amina* (fish), I cannot endure myself, My Dear, for the flashing of the lightning."

The *Virahinī* (who must be Rādhā, as she refers to Kṛṣṇa as the Lord of her Life) can hardly understand how she has survived a year of loneliness; and now the rainy season has come, when a young girl in love suffers most.

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Line 4. I do not understand the allusion to Bhīmasena.

The autumn moon was the time of the *Rās Līlā*, and so awakens vivid memories. She has escaped from this season only with the loss of half her former weight.

Lines 2–4. She cannot bear the sight of the clouds and lightning, so provocative of love-longing. It is true that Āsāḍh will follow Bhādon, and then she may expect some relief; but Āsāḍh is so long in coming, that it seems as if the thunder must have driven it away.

Dān Līlā

CCXLIII

17.2663. *Dān Līlā:* Kṛṣṇa robbing the *gopīs* of curd. Tracing on skin.

Pahāṛī, Garhwāl, about 1800.

Dimensions, .072 × .113 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Obtained from Bālak Rām Sāh of Garhwāl.

Used by Eric Gill as the basis of his woodcut illustrating Coomaraswamy (translation of) *The Dāna Līlā* (The Taking of Toll) of Rājendra, London, 1915. This picture might be described as *Dāna Līlā* (Taking Toll, or Levying a Gift) or, as in the case of M. F. A. **17.3109** could be an illustration to the *Duḥsandhāna rasa*, or 'Flavour of what is hard to reconcile.'

CCXLIV

25.524. *Dān Līlā:* Rādhā with her companions, disguised as Mathurā guardsmen, surprise and capture Kṛṣṇa, who with the *gopas*, had been stealing curds from the *gopīs* en route to Mathurā. Four *gopīs* with baskets containing curd-jars, stand to the left; then Rādhā's armed companions, four in number; then Rādhā holding Kṛṣṇa by the wrist; and on the right the other herd boys escaping and hiding. Fully colored, with red border. Hindī text in Nāgarī characters on cover sheet.

Pahāṛī, Garhwāl? about 1800.

Dimensions, .287 × .212 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Kavitta:

Rāja pauriyā ke rūpa Rādhe ko banāya, lyāyiṁ gopī Mathurā te Madhubana kī latāni mā̃i,

Kānha kahī ṭera ṭera to ko cāhe Kaṁsa Rāe, kāke kāhe lūṭata sune ho dadhi dāni mā̃i,

Saṁga ke sayāne gaye ḍagara par āne, Deva-Syāma sisuyāne te pakari kare pāni mā̃i,

Chūṭi gayo chalate chabīlī kī vilokini mai, ḍhīlī bhaī bhauhaiṁ bālajīlī musakāni mā̃i.

"Putting on Rādhā the guise of the king's body guard, the herd-girls brought her from Mathurā to Madhuban' grove:

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She says to Kānha, 'Stop, stop, Kans Rai wants you; by whose leave, hark ye, are you stealing curds from the jars?'

Away went the older herd-boys where they would, but Lord Śyāma being but a child was caught by the hand:

But he got away by his wiles, and seeing his beauty, her frowns were dispersed and she smiled at his childish pranks."

PLATE LXXXVIII.

Rās Līlā and *Rās Maṇḍal*

CCXLV

17.2448. Rādhā, with hands outstretched to mount on Kṛṣṇa's back, but he had vanished; moonlit forest, with the river Jamna diagonally across the foreground. Drawing in red over fainter black lines.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .286 × .209 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse inscribed with Sanskrit text:

Evamuktaḥ priyāmāha skandha āruhyatām-iti
Talaścantardadhe kṛśaḥ sā vadūranvatapyat. 38.

"So saying, he spake to the dear one, 'Come on to my shoulder,' and then disappeared: and she, left lacking, suffered torment."

C., *R. P.*, p. 35 and Pl. LIXb.

This is an episode of the Rās Līlā, where Rādhā, intoxicated by pride, asks Kṛṣṇa to carry her on his shoulders. He appears to consent but vanishes when she prepares to mount. In the words of the *Prema Sāgara*: "as her hands were outstretched, so with extended hands she remained standing; . . . and heaving great sighs because of the separation from her beloved, she stood alone in the forest, where all the beasts, birds, trees and creepers, hearing the sound of her sobbing, were weeping too."

Cf. No. CCXLVI (M. F. A. **17.2455**).

PLATE LXXVI.

CCXLVI

17.2455. *Rās Līlā:* Rādhā carried on Kṛṣṇa's back in a forest: the Jamna in the foreground. A bed of leaves under trees to the left. Brush drawing in red over rough tracing.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .288 × .217 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. No. CCXLV (M. F. A. **17.2448**).

PLATE LXXVI.

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CCXLVII

17.2465. *Rāsa Maṇḍala*: General Dance of Kṛṣṇa with the milkmaids. One fourth of a circular composition, showing three (of twelve) figures, viz., two Kṛṣṇas with a milkmaid between. Vigorous drawing on unprimed paper.

Dimensions, .250 × .171 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, C., *R. P.*, pp. 35, 36 and fig. 4; *The Taking of Toll* (*Dāna Līlā*, trans. A.K. Coomaraswamy, 1915).

Prema Sāgara, Ch: 34.

"Two and two the gopīs held hands, and between each
pair was Kṛṣṇa their friend. . . .
Gopī and Nanda Kumāra alternate, a round ring of
lightnings and heavy cloud,
The fair Bṛj girls and the dusky Kṛṣṇa, like to a
gold and sapphire necklace."

PLATE LXXVII.

CCXLVIII

17.2466. *Rāsa Maṇḍala:* General Dance of Kṛṣṇa with the milkmaids, twelve figures in a ring, Kṛṣṇa between each pair of girls. Drawing over white priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .276 × .206 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXXVII.

CCXLIX

17.2618. *Rāsa Maṇḍala:* fragment, showing part of figure of Kṛṣṇa dancing, and chorus of gopīs, in landscape. Partly colored, unfinished.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .87 × .187 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, C., *R. P.*, Pl. LIVB; Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, No. 102.

PLATE XIX.

Cīra-haraṇa

CCL

17.2451. The Stealing of Clothes (*cīra harana*). Kṛṣṇa in a tree, beside the Jamna, approached by the naked milkmaids, begging for the garments stolen while bathing. Grey outline (? tracing or pouncing) rubbed.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .228 × .146 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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With Hindī prose text:

Kṛṣṇadevajī jab kahā jo tusānū doṣa hai brata dhārake nadī mo naṁgī hokar snāna-karatī rahī hau, so mahārāj kī āj̃ñā mān kar taise praṇāma karatī bhaī.

"When Kṛṣṇa-deva-jī said 'It is your sin that ye bathed in the river naked on the day of your fast': (then) having taken to heart the Lord's admonition, they made obeisance."

A well-known episode, of the Kṛṣṇa legend. The nakedness required of the *gopīs* is an image of the poverty and humility with which the souls of men should submit themselves to the will of God.

"For whatso folly is, or wisdom was,
Across my threshold naked all must pass."

W. Morris, *Love is Enough.*

"When Shrī Krishna stole the clothes of the bathing *gopī*, and made them approach him naked, he removed the artificial coverings which are imposed on man in the sangsāra."

Avalon, A., *Mahānirvāna Tantra*, p. lxxxi.

PLATE LXXVI.

Wives of the Mathurā Brāhmans

CCLI

17.2463. Kṛṣṇa fed by the wives of the Mathurā Brāhmans; cows in the foreground.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century. Brush outline.

Dimensions, .192 × .145 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Prema Sāgara, Ch. XXIV: The herd lads being one day hungry, Kṛṣṇa sent a message politely asking food from the Brāhmans in Mathurā. These Pharisees of the story, being occupied with their ritual, refused all alms until the sacrifice had been completed. Then Kṛṣṇa sent again, this time to their wives, and no sooner was the request made known than they rose from their cooking and hastened to carry golden dishes of food to Kṛṣṇa with their own hands.

PLATE LXXVI.

CCLII

17.2610. Wives of the Mathurā Brāhmans bringing food to Kṛṣṇa and the other herdsmen. Balarāma is seated next to Kṛṣṇa; there are three other *gopas* and six cows. Three women are carrying jars of milk or curd, and one is filling a leaf cup held out by Kṛṣṇa. The Jamna in the foreground with clearly defined 'foam-wreath'; the gestures of the women with great dignity. The skirts with a frill at the waist.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .202 × .283 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, C., *R. P.*, pp. 33, 34, and Pl. XLVI. Cf. Ghose, A., *A Comparative survey of Indian painting*, I. H. Qtly, June, 1926, Pl. IV.

PLATE LXXVIII.

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Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā

CCLIII

15.54. A milkmaid in a doorway, Kṛṣṇa in the street, addressing her.

Pahārī, Kāṇgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .16 × .242 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE LXXXI.

CCLIV

17.2444. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in a grove beside the Jamna, *gopas* and cows in the meadows. Monsoon sky; *gopas* taking shelter from the approaching storm. Partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .319 × .265 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXXIX.

CCLV

17.2445. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa sheltering under one umbrella. Drawing in red.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .158 × .311 m., oval. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed with Hindī text in Nagarī characters:

(*Kavitta*):

Aye mahādārana maghavā ke ghanaghora jora-tora tora-ḍāre
druma jhuka jhairāye ke,
Caucale na kuṁjapuṁja sīta bhaye bhīta dou, yeka paṭa
Syāma sāu rahe lapaṭāye ke,
Taba Hari Rādhakā uchaṁga gahyo chatra ḍaṁḍa, ghana ke
ghumaṁḍe tahā barasyo he aghāye ke,
Bītī he bībhāta pare ekahī chītā ke bīca, māno tīna
loka kī chabī hai chabāye ke.

"The crashing thunder storm came in its irresistible might, splitting and breaking and bending and shaking the trees.

Unmeet for endearments, the groves grew chill; both were afraid, and under one cloth she clung to Śyāma (the 'Dark One,' i. e., Kṛṣṇa).

Now was the shaft of Hari's (Kṛṣṇa's) and Rādhā's umbrella wrenched aside (by a gust of wind), and then from the gathered clouds fell a torrent of rain;

When the day came back, there as it were beneath a single umbrella shone resplendent the Three Worlds' beauty."

C., *R. P.*, p. 54.

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CCLVI

17.2458. A milkmaid (*gvālinī, gopī*) entering the door of a house, avoiding Kṛṣṇa who stands in the street addressing her. A dancing peacock in the foreground.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .172 × .235 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

C., *R. P.*, p. 54.

Reverse with partly defaced Hindī text in Nāgarī characters.

Mohana ke manabhāya gayo ikabhāya so gvālanī godhana gayau,
Tāteṁ lagyo cita cauhaṭa soṁ haravā hadai gātā soṁ . . .
Rasakhāna lahī yaha . . . tu ratā cupacāpa rahī jabalauṁ ghara āyau
Naina tarcaya cite musakāya su oṭa hve . . . aṁga. . . .

The sense is that 'a milkmaid, Kṛṣṇa's sweetheart, as she is going to the cowpens, meets him by surprise at the crossroads; stands astonished, and then to escape him, enters a house.'

Mohana, Rasakhāna are epithets of Kṛṣṇa. Cf. No. CCLVII (M. F. A. **17.2459**).

CCLVII

17.2459. A milkmaid, perhaps Rādhā, accosted by Kṛṣṇa in the streets of Bṛndāban: he holds up one hand, signing to her to wait for him. Brush outline, black over yellow.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .171 × .235 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse inscribed with Hindī text:

(Kavi)tta:

Chaila bṛja caṁda chala kari gahi-hasyō gaila, nāyakā catura jaisai caṁpe kī ka(li na)ī;
Suni khora āvata nirakha mana phūlyo gāta, bheṭa bhae āja dhana jībana bhaī.
Nirakhata naina sara maina se lagāe nāra, una mukha mori hasi dāhanī (gali) laī;
Kaṁha kahi rahe na kaṭhāṛhī hohi, suni jāhi, sunīhai ju sunī (hai ka)hata, cali gaī.

"The moon of Bṛja, the rake, working his wiles, was innocently smiling at an artful maid like a jasmine bud;
Hearing his step and seeing him coming, her heart and body bloomed; a meeting took place, and today her life was blest:
As her eyes beheld him, the woman was struck by the arrows of love, but turning her face away with a smile, she took the right hand road;
Kānha said 'Do not be cruel'; but saying, 'I heard, Sir, I heard,' she went away."

C., *R. P.*, pp. 53–54. Cf. No. CCLVI (M. F. A. **17.2458**).

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CCLVIII

17.2460. Rādhā with a *sakhī;* and walking with Kṛṣṇa, making a peacock dance. Brush outline on unprimed paper.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .226 × .295 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLIX

17.2462. Rādhā in conversation with Kṛṣṇa, beneath a tree, beside the Jamna; another *gopī* filling her jar. Drawing on unprimed paper.

Dimensions, .296 × .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLX

17.2464. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa gazing into each other's eyes: their heads seen from below, above a wall. Moonlight: plantains (bananas) to the right. Partly colored, and with names of colors indicated. Unprimed paper.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .233 × .295 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXI

17.2469. Śṛī Kṛṣṇa seated in a coconut grove on a bed of leaves or branches, Rādhā conversing with another *gopī*, the Jamna in the foreground, a village and hills beyond. Drawing over white priming, partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .184 × .265 m. (oval). Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The representation of the coconut tree is very unusual.

Two lines of text, a mixture of Hindī and Sanskrit, almost incomprehensible:

Āli vāli sāsi nālikelivāṭikā tatī bāṭa māga tāsiya (?) hītavāri bhṛ (?) pi gopa aiva gogha gopi kī paṭīhāra ko vihāra ko vidoste pītta satpaṭī.

"O my friend, he who is sitting in the grove of young coconuts catches hold of us and asks . . ."

CCLXII

17.2470. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa seated on a bed. The Hindī color names indicated in script. Drawing.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .145 × .207 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXIII

17.2478. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa seated on a bed of leaves in a grove beside the Jamna; *gopas* and *gopīs* conversing; a village above. Partly colored, on unprimed paper.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late nineteenth century.

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Dimensions, .141 × .210 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Hindī text at back:

Kavitta:

Āpahi kuṁja kāi bhīrata peṭhi sudhāri kāi suṁdara seja bichāī,
Bātai banāī saya kāiri Mādhāu sau āni kāi Rādhau milāī,
Āli kahā kahau hāsiki bāta viḍuṣaka jesi karī hai ḍhiḍhāī,
Jāi uhā pichavārāi ute phuni bole uṭhyo Vṛṣabhīna kanyāī.

"He (the clown) cleared a space and prepared a beautiful bed in the grove,
And concocting some tale, he brought Rādhā to Kṛṣṇa there.
What can I say, my friend? t'was a shameful affair, how the clown misbehaved,
He went there behind us and shouted out 'Has Vṛṣabhānu's Daughter come?' "

The *viḍuṣaka* in the Kṛṣṇa cycle is a *gopa* who is at once his faithful servant, and a clown who makes jokes at his expense and Rādhā's (see p. 68). For a reference to another picture representing the *viḍuṣaka* see No. CCC in this Catalogue.

CCLXIV

17.2605. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, seated on an expanded lotus, on a terrace: Kṛṣṇa four-armed, with conch, discus, mace and lotus. Soft coloring; oval with red spandrils.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .134 × .184 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LVII.

CCLXV

17.2609. Kṛṣṇa seated in a chamber opening on the street: Rādhā passing by. Bright colors, dark border, originally with pink-dotted margin.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .178 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Rādhā perhaps refuses Kṛṣṇa's invitation, as No. CCLVII in (M. F. A. **17.2459**) etc.

PLATE LXXX.

CCLXVI

17.2614. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa sheltering from the rain under one cloak. Other *gopas* and *gopīs*, a cow, peacocks, etc., lightning and heavy rain. Strong colors. Pahāṛī, perhaps from Gaṛhwāl, about 1800.

Dimensions, .211 × .297 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with one line of Hindī text (incomplete):

Kabita: Keki ki pukāra dhuravāna ki dhukāra mahān jhīlli jhūkāra daga parta na meri he. . . .

"Crying of peahens, calling of yokels, crickets' shrill screaming."

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Published, C., *R. P.*, p. 54 and Pl. LVIII.

Cf. No. CCLV (M. F. A. **17.2445**) and Hindī text: "Under one cloak she clung to Śyāma."

PLATE LXXXI.

CCLXVII

18.199. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa seated on a bed of leaves in a grove beside the Jamna.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .170 × .232 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXXVIII.

Rādhā

CCLXVIII

17.2457. Rādhā's toilet: she is seated on a *caukī* in a courtyard, with two maids, and is overlooked by Kṛṣṇa from an upper room.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .209 × .275 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXIX

17.2472. Fragment: heroine (Rādhā) addressing her confidante to the effect that she is mistress of Kṛṣṇa's heart: attendant, chamberlain, and musicians.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .82 × .123 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Near in style to the Nala-Damayantī series.

Only the second and last lines of the Hindī inscription are complete:

Line 2. *Baṁsiyau bisārī paṭa pītana saṁbhāra kare gahẽ druma-ḍāra juga jāmanī so jagyau hai*

Line 4. *Ina ṭhagaṭhagī ṭhaura-ṭhaura Bṛjanātha sabhai, bhalẽ merī ṭhaganī te Trilokī-ṭhaga ṭhagyau hai.*

"Playing on the flute and wearing yellow garments, he held in his hand the branch of a tree, it seemed like two black nights. . .

That robber, the Lord of Bṛj, has practised his thieving on everyone everywhere, but now, forsooth, the Three Worlds' robber has been robbed of his heart by the robber's wife!"

The Lord of Bṛj, the Three Worlds' robber, refers to Kṛṣṇa; the 'robber's wife' is Rādhā. The 'two black nights' are the dusky Kṛṣṇa and the dark tree, probably *tamāla*, under which he stood. The words *ṭhag, ṭhagī* have been Anglicized as 'thug' and 'thuggee,' cf. Meadows Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug.*

PLATE LIV.

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CCLXX

17.2473. Rādhā with a maid, in the kitchen, stirring a pot on the fire: Kṛṣṇa spying through the door. Drawing.

Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .135 × .157 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Verso with Hindī text almost illegible in part:

Dohā; Pyārī pai ulari (?) *parai, aṁga aṁga chabi joṭa,*
Dekha dāra kī ghota ko, pare pāṭa kī oṭa

"The sweetheart's bosom came forth, and all her body shone with beauty—
As if to watch the stirring of the lentils, that her garment hid."

Jamna ghāṭ

CCLXXI

17.2454. *Gopīs* at Jamna *ghāṭ* fetching water: Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and *gopas* coming up from the left. Village of Bṛndāban, with houses, and *gopīs* looking down from the windows. Brush drawing over white priming, partly colored; damaged by white ants.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .256 × .179 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian Drawings* I, Pl. XIV.

PLATE LXXXII.

CCLXXII

17.2475. Kṛṣṇa meets Rādhā with other *gopīs* at Jamna Ghāṭ. Brush drawing over white priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .264 × .205 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXXXIII.

CCLXXIII

17.2479. *Gopīs* of Bṛndāban at the *ghāṭ:* the sound of Kṛṣṇa's voice is heard, but he is not seen in the picture. To the right is a sacred tree with cows grazing and two seated yogīs. Behind is the town gate with men and women coming and going on the steps leading to the water's edge. Above the town a golden sun. On thin unprimed paper, partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .155 × .194 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed with the following Hindī text:

Kavitta:

Jānata āna parī sapharī jaba pratibiṁba nihārai
Lāla kahai te khijhe sakhi sõ kachu caṁcalatā kī sudho na sahmārai

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Ese subhāva bhae hai nae juga jāma gae ghara kau na sidhārai
Cīra so chāta kai nīra bhare phira tīra pai āe kĕ gāgara ḍhārai.

" 'Did you know that the minnow entered the pot when it saw the reflection of your eyes?'

When Lāla (Kṛṣṇa) thus bantered, the girls were somewhat vexed, and in distraction could not recover their senses,

And so was their temper thereby changed that two watches passed before they returned to their homes

They strained the water through cloths — and yet they emptied the jars when they reached the bank again."

C., *R. P.*, p. 32.

PLATE LXXXII.

CCLXXIV

25.529. *Gopis* at Jamnā *ghāṭ*, fetching water; one emptying a water pot, another straining the water through a cloth. On the left, Kṛṣṇa seated in a tree playing the flute, a *gopa* and cows below. Behind, steps leading to Bṛndāban, represented as a fortified village with a high gateway. Brush outline over red sketch on unprimed paper. Verse with Hindī text in Nāgarī characters and two lines of text in Ṭākrī characters.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, about 1800.

Dimensions, .255 × .200 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

The Nāgarī text is practically identical with that of No. CCLXXIII (M. F. A. **17.2479**), q. v., C., *R. P.*, p. 32.

Holī festival, etc.

CCLXXV

17.2453. Kṛṣṇa and *gopīs* teasing an old man. Brush drawing over white priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .211 × .168 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian Drawings*, II, Pl. XIII.

CCLXXVI

17.2467. Holī festival: Rādhā and other *gopīs* throwing colored powder. Kṛṣṇa and other gopas squirting colored water. Musicians.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .217 × .141 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The 'Saturnalia' of the Pañjāb:

Composition recalling the drawing reproduced in Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian Drawings*, II, Pl. XII.

PLATE LXXXIII.

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CCLXXVII

17.2468. Holī festival: Kṛṣṇa and *gopīs*, throwing colored powders and squirting colored water. Drawing on unprimed paper. Musicians.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .330 × .250 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCLXXVIII

17.2475. Holī festival: *gopīs* fetching water from Jamna *ghāṭ*, waylaid by Kṛṣṇa and other *gopas*, squirting colored liquids and throwing colored powders. Drawing.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .264 × .205 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXXXIII.

Gīta Govinda of Jayadeva

CCLXXIX

17.2389. First leaf of the series, showing Gaṇeśa, four-handed, with axe, goad, and book, served by Ṛddhi and Siddhi (Success and Accomplishment); the rat, his *vāhana*, below. Soft colors.

Pahāṛī, early Kāṅgṛā, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .360 × .270 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Just as Gaṇeśa is invoked (*Oṁ Gaṇeśya namaḥ*) as the remover of difficulties and patron of undertakings at the beginning of a written book, so he is represented on the first leaf of every series of pictures.

Same hand and series as Nos. CCLXXX, CCLXXXI (M. F. A. **17.2390, 17.2391**).

PLATE LXXXIV.

CCLXXX

17.2390. In the Bṛndāban forest, the Jamna in the foreground. To left, Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa, and the poet (Jayadeva): to right, Rādhā with Father Nand.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early or mid-nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .345 × .270 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Names of the persons are indicated in Nāgarī characters as follows: *Rādhaka, Nada* (=*Nanda*), *Jedeva.*

CCLXXXI

17.2391. In the Bṛndāban forest, the Jamna in the foreground. Kṛṣṇa returning to Rādhā, the messenger, announcing his coming to her. Soft colors.

Pahāṛī, early Kāṅgṛā, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .360 × .267 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: C., *R. P.*, p. 40 and Pl. XXXIX.

PLATE LXXXV.

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Balarāma

CCLXXXII

17.2555. Balabhadra (Balarāma) diverting the course of the Jamna with a plough. On thin unprimed paper.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .289 × .193 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed reverse with 7 lines of text in Sanskrit and Pañjābī referring to the Jamna and in praise of Kṛṣṇa.

C., *R. P.*, p. 38.

Prema Sāgara: Ch. LXVI. "When Yamunā conceitedly paid no attention to what Balarām Jī said, he angrily drew her with a plough (towards himself) and bathed. From that day to the present, the Yamunā has been bent there."

CCLXXXIII

17.2608. Balarāma with his plough diverting the course of the Jamna: he also carries the pestle, and is conversing with Kṛṣṇa (whose presence is extraneous to the story). *Gopas* and cows in background. Fully colored.

Dimensions, .158 × .209 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXIX.

Aniruddha and Uṣā

CCLXXXIV

17.2434. Perhaps from the story of Aniruddha and Uṣā: youth and girl seated in a pavilion, and two attendants (?) conversing. Side doors opening on a garden. Unfinished.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .375 × .273 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Perhaps by the same hand and in the same series as No. CCLXXXVI (M. F. A. **17.2439**). Numbered 22.

CCLXXXV

17.2438. Aniruddha and Uṣā. Aniruddha discovered with Uṣā, and her palace surrounded by Vaṇāsura's *rākṣasa* army. Drawing over white priming, partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .375 × .274 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXXXVI.

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CCLXXXVI

17.2439. Aniruddha and Uṣā: grief of the Yaduvaṁsīs on hearing of Aniruddha's imprisonment. Night scene. Numbered 34.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .375 × .275 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Nearly in the manner of the Nala-Damayantī series, but slightly inferior and by a different hand, perhaps a pupil of the Nala-Damayantī master. By the same hand and from the same series as No. CCLXXXVII (M. F. A. **17.2440**).

PLATE LXXXVIII.

CCLXXXVII

17.2440. Aniruddha and Uṣā: Aniruddha bound and placed in an upper chamber guarded by rākṣasas. Here Devī appears to him. Nārada is flying through the sky to Dvārakā. Uṣā lamenting in a separate chamber on the right. Vāṇāsur departing, having given his orders. Numbered 35.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .375 × .275 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

By same hand and from same series as No. CCLXXXVI (M. F. A. **17.2439**).

PLATE LXXXVII.

CCLXXXVIII

17.2441. Aniruddha and Uṣā: Vāṇāsur remarking the evil omens — breaking of the banner staff, uprooting of a sacred tree, howling of cats and jackals, rings round the sun. Unfinished. Numbered 9.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .361 × .254 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Perhaps by the same hand and in the same series as **17.2439.**

PLATE LXXXVII.

CCLXXXIX

17.2623. Night scene, unidentified, possibly Citrarekha conveying Aniruddha from Dvārakā to Soṇitpur. On the right a white city (Dvārakā?) by the water's edge, with Kṛṣṇa seated on a roof: a female figure in the air, with eight arms, carrying in each of four hands a reclining figure on a couch and in the other four objects resembling cushions: to the left a golden-walled city (Soṇitpur?). A male figure standing on the waters of the sea: the same figure touching the city walls; right scene with stormy sky.

From a series.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .210 × .126 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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Pradyumna and Rati

CCXC

17.2557. To left, Vasudeva in converse with Ugrasena: to right, Pradyumna and Rati departing. Line and wash drawing on unprimed paper.

Pāhāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .192 × .130 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Names inscribed in Nāgarī characters: Vasudeva, Ugrasena, Pradūmna, Rati.

Prema Sāgara, Ch. LVI.

Sudāma

CCXCI

17.3087. Arrival of Sudāma at the gate of Kṛṣṇa's palace in Dvārakā. Sudāma in rags, and regarded by the gate keeper with suspicion. Strong coloring and somewhat mechanical outline.

Pahārī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .250 × .167 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Prema Sāgara. Chs. LXXX and LXXXI. Cf. C., *R. P.*, p. 39.

Same hand and series as Nos. CCXCII–CCXCV (M. F.A. **3088–3091**).

PLATE LXXXIX.

CCXCII

17.3088. Departure of Sudāma: Kṛṣṇa bidding farewell.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .251 × .172 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CCXCI, CCXCIII–V.

PLATE LXXXIX.

CCXCIII

17.3089. Sudāma reaches home, and is bewildered to find in place of his house, a palace. The gatekeeper informs him that it is his own: his wife comes to the gate to welcome him.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .245 × .170 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CCXCI, CCXCIII–CCXCV.

PLATE XC.

CCXCIV

17.3090. Sudāma conducted by his wife to the throne room.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .246 × .172 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CCXCI–CCXCIII, CCXCV.

PLATE XC.

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RAJPUT PAINTINGS

CCXCV

17.3091. Sudāma, in elegant attire, seated with his wife in an upper chamber, over a gateway in the palace court.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .246 × .170 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CCXCI–CCXCIV (M. F. A. **17.3087–17.3090**).

PLATE XCI.

CCXCVI

17.2541. Sudāma dining with Kṛṣṇa in a chamber, opening on a court where Brahmans are dining. Second drawing in black over yellow; colors indicated in script.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth–early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .240 × .158 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Names inscribed *Kṛīsānā, Sodāma.*

Continuous narration (Kṛṣṇa with Sudāma entering, on the right).

A drawing by the Nala-Damayantī master?

PLATE XCI.

CCXCVII

17.2559. (Obverse.) Sudāma's arrival at Kṛṣṇa's palace. Second drawing in black over red.

Dimensions, .189 × .262 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

4. *Patna*

CCXCVIII

17.2471. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa enthroned under canopy on a terrace, with attendants, watching a dance. Brush outline, with wash and partly colored.

Perhaps Oudh; early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .300 × .233 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed at back in Nāgarī characters *Śrī Krīsna-jī.*

PLATE CXXX.

CCXCIX

17.2823. Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa, with cattle. Drawing.

Patna, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .189 × .151 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

From the Tagore Collection.

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

E. Rhetoric (Nāyaka-Bheda, etc.)

2. Pahāṛī, Jamū

CCC

17.2779. *Prauḍha-adhīra Nāyakā*, viz., the 'mature heroine without self-command.' Śiva seated on a tiger skin in a palace, Pārvatī addressing him in a threatening or abusive manner. Border cut away.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, middle or late seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .287 × .192 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscription in Ṭākrī characters: *Prauḍha adhīra.*

Verso, Sanskrit inscription in Nāgarī characters:

Pratiphalam-avalokya svīyam-iṁdoḥ-kalāyāṁ hara-śirasi paraspāvāsam-āśaṁkamānā,
Giriśamacala-kanyā tarja-yāmā sakaṁpa pracala valayavalāt-kānti-bhājā-kareṇa 14.

"Expecting some contrary outcome, mistrusting the digit of the moon on Hara's head, who protects his servants,
The daughter of Himālaya, with beauteous hand all trembling with excessive agitation, made threats and prayers."

Same hand and series as Nos. CCCI–CCCV in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2780–17.2786**).

Evidently from an extensive series illustrating some treatise on *nāyaka-bheda.* The numbering of the folios represented ranges from 15–133. The series is characterized by strong color, with red borders onto which the picture intrudes, by the use of fragments of beetle wings to represent jewellery, and by the peculiar character of the architecture, with turrets, paneled doors, latticed windows and plinths ending in grotesque heads. In a general way the architectural forms and decoration reflect mid-seventeenth century Mughal, but the style, as a whole, must be of older origin. Silver and beetle wings are sometimes used in representing the decoration of the architecture. Each picture is designated, recto, in Ṭākrī characters and numerals, and has a Sanskrit text in Nāgarī characters, verso. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā or Mahādeva and Umā play the parts of hero and heroine.

A picture from the same series, in the collection of Prof. W. Rothenstein, is reproduced in Rūpam, Nos. 19–20, 1924, on a Plate facing p. 137, Fig. 2, and in Goetz, H., *Die indische Miniaturen der Sammlung W. Rothenstein, London*, Jahrb. d. asiatischen Kunst, 11, 1925. This picture, numbered 117 and superscribed in Ṭākrī characters *Vaiduṣaka sakhā* 'The Clown Companions,' shows a man in a 'fool's cap' conversing with Kṛṣṇa, another standing to right, laughing: both carry *līlā-kamala* in imitation of Kṛṣṇa, while Rādhā as *Vāsakaśāyyā* is within the chamber. A picture in the same style belonging to

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Stella Kramrisch is reproduced in color, Rūpam, 19–20, 1924. Another is in the possession of Dr. Coomaraswamy.

PLATE XCII.

CCCI

17.2780. *Śaṭha Naṭeka:* 'the false gallant.' A hero of blue complexion (Kṛṣṇa) seated with the heroine in a room, tying a girdle of golden bells around her waist. Day scene.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, middle or late seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .334 × .234 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Numbered 101 and superscribed in Ṭākrī characters:

Nāṭeka saṭha (for *Naṭaka śaṭha*), "False gallant."

Verso, Sanskrit inscription:

Maulau dāma vidhāya bhāla-phalakevyālikhya patrāvalīṁ-keyūraṁ bhujayor-nidhāya kucayor-vinyasya hāramujaṁ:

Viśvasaṁ-samupārjayan-mṛga-dṛṣaḥ kāṁci-niveśaścalān-nīvī-graṁthim-apākaroti kaṭrunā-hastena vāma-bhruvaḥ 101.

(phalakevyālikhya = phalaka-iva-ālikhya; niveśaśchatalān = niveśus-talān).

"Showing her a beautiful girdle, drawing on a fair panel with red chalk, putting a bracelet on her wrists and laying a necklace on her breasts,

Winning the confidence of the fawn-eyed lady of fair brows, he slyly loosens the knot of her skirt, below the girdle-stead, with naughty hand."

PLATE XCII.

CCCII

17.2781. *Upapātī Naṭeka:* 'the paramour gallant.' A hero of blue complexion (Kṣṛṇa) and heroine seated on a bed, embracing. Night scene.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, middle or late seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .327 × .232 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Numbered 102 and superscribed in Ṭākrī characters: *Upapātī Naṭeka*, 'Paramour gallant.'

Verso, Sanskrit inscription:

Śaṁkāśṛṁ-khalite na yatra nayana prāṁte nayana prāṁtena na prekṣate, keyūra dhvani bhūri bhīti cakitaṁ no yatra vā śliṣyate 11

No vā yatra śanair alagna daśaṁam biṁbādharaḥ pīḍyate, no vā yatra nidhīyate ca maṇi taṁtat kiṁitaṁkāminoḥ 102.

(prekṣate = pra-īkṣate; tantat = tad tad)

"Restrained by fear, indeed, not even from the corners of her eyes does she look right at him, and full of fear and trembling at the sound of her own anklets she does not embrace him,

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Nor does she lingeringly press her scarlet lips to his with sundered teeth, nor does she yield her jewel; such is this 'loving woman.'"

The heroine is thus a *navala bālā* or 'inexperienced babe', a novice.

PLATE XCIII.

CCCIII

17.2782. *Vaiśika Nāyaka:* 'The rake.' A hero of blue complexion (Kṛṣṇa) approaching a house wherein are seated the heroine and *sakhī*. Day scene.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, middle or late seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .322 × .225 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Numbered 106 and superscribed in Ṭākrī characters:

Vaisika adhama (for *Vaiśika adhama*), "The gallant well versed in the ways of courtesans."

Reverse with Sanskrit inscription:

Udayati hṛdiyasya naiva lajjā na ca karuṇā na ca kopi bhītī leśaḥ:
Bakula kusuma kośa komalāṁ māṁ punarapi tasya karena pāta-yedhyā. 106.

"His swollen heart knows neither shame nor pity nor any fear of anger:
How can such a tender *bakula*-bud as I have been cast into his hands to-day?"

PLATE XCIII.

CCCIV

17.2783. *Mānišaṭha Nāyaka:* 'the offended false gallant.' The hero of blue complexion (Kṛṣṇa) taking his departure, the lady in the doorway sending him away with angry words. Day scene.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, middle or late seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .321 × .232 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Numbered 107 and superscribed in Ṭākrī characters: *Mānīsaṭha* (for *Mānišaṭha*), 'sulky rogue.'

Verso, Sanskrit inscription:

Bāhyā kṛta parāyanaṁ tava vaco vajropameyaṁ manaḥ
śrutvā vācamimām apāsya vinayaṁ vyājād bahiḥ prasthite
Prātar vīta vilokane parihṛtālāpe vivṛttānane
prāṇeśe nipataṁ tihaṁ tikyaṇā vāma bhruvo dṛṣṭayaḥ 107.

"Driving him out, your voice (fell) like a thunderbolt upon his heart, when he heard these words of yours he hastily went forth
Leaving very early, avoiding the argument, his face distorted by grief, with downcast sulky looks, in such guise I have seen the Lord of your Soul."

The lady is apparently a *Khaṇḍitā nāyakā*.

PLATE XCIV.

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CCCV

17.2784. *Upapātī Naṭeka:* The paramour gallant or hero who is loved by the wife of another. He is seated beside a bed in a room soliloquizing.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .317 × .219 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Numbered 111 and superscribed in Ṭākrī characters: *Naṭeka upapātī*, 'Paramour gallant' (cf. No. CCCII, M.F.A. **17.2781**).

Verso, Sanskrit inscription:

Yaṁtyaḥ saraḥ salila keli-kutūhalāya vyājādupetyamayi vartma nivarttamāne,
Smita dyuti camat-kṛti dṛk-kuraṁgai raṁgī-kṛtaṁ kimapi vāma dṛśaḥ
smarāmi. 111.

"I seem to recall how I saw her, with eyes like a deer's, adorning (the place where she was): she had come to disport in the waters of the pond, but suspecting some danger lurking in its ripples, she smiled like a flash of lightning (and darted off)."

PLATE XCIV.

CCCVI

17.2785. *Cekhrā catara saṭha (Nāyaka)*: a hero of blue complexion (Kṛṣṇa) holding a golden orange; the heroine in a room making marks on gold and silver circles on the wall and floor.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .326 × .230 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Numbered 109 and superscribed in Ṭākrī characters: *Cekhrā catara saṭha.*

Verso, Sanskrit inscription:

Kāṁte kanaka-jaṁbīraṁ-kare kimapi kurvati,
Āgāra likhite bhānau biṁdum-iṁdu-mukhī dadau. 109.

" 'Beloved, what are you doing with the golden orange in your hand?'
(So said) the moon-face as she placed a dot on the bright circles (*bhānau*) painted in the house."

The significance of the orange, and the gold and silver discs is not apparent; nor can I find a meaning for *cekhrā.*

PLATE XCV.

CCCVII

17.2786. *Virahinī.* Heroine seated in a room, looking at the portrait of the hero, and suffering in his absence. Day scene.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .328 × .223 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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Numbered 133, and superscribed in Ṭākrī characters: *Cītradarasana*, 'looking at the picture.'

Reverse with Sanskrit inscription:

Nīvīṁ hared urasijaṁ-vilikhen-nakhena daṁtaśchadaṁca daśanena daśeda kasmāt,
Itthaṁ paṭeṣu likhitaṁ dayitaṁ vilokya bālā pureva vanaja hāra vihāra śaṁkāṁ.
133.

"Tearing at her skirt, vehemently marking her breasts with her nails and biting her lips with her teeth, and crying 'When (will he come)?' Thus regarding her lover depicted in the picture, the babe is afraid that he may be taking his pleasure in the groves."

Same hand and series as Nos. CCC–CCCVI in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2779–2785**).

PLATE XCV.

CCCVIII

17.3113. *Virahinī*, the heroine suffering from the fever of love, reclining on a bed, on lotus leaves; a *sakhī* fanning her, another with a cup of water or sandal paste and a garland. In the chamber of a palace.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .267 × .166 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: C., *R. P.*, Pl. XXVII A, and Vol. I, pp. 50, 51; also Coomaraswamy and Sen, Vidyāpati, *Baṅgiya Padābali*, London, 1915, facing p. 115.

Compare Vidyāpati:

"The fire of sundering from herself devours her body in its flames . . .
Today or tomorrow she is like to die!
Such burning love she bears;
Refreshing water, lotus leaves upon her bed,
Or ointment of sandal paste,
Each and all are flames of fire . . .
All night she wends and wakes."

Probably same hand and series as Nos. CCC–CCCVII, in this Catalogue.

PLATE XCVI.

CCCIX

17.3115. *Abhisārikā Nāyakā.* The heroine, on a dark and stormy night, has reached her lover's house: he lifts his hands in amazement at her courage. Night scene, with clouds and lightning and falling rain. Yellow border.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .311 × .211 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with Hindī text in Ṭākrī characters:

Garajatā capola camakatā laja tajī abhīsaranī kura(nī?)
ka paravasa calī gehara jalaṁdhara dhara,

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"Thundering and flashing lightning, abandoning shame, in devotion to someone, she goes on *abhisāra* . . . ."

The heroine is wearing skirt, bodice and *dupaṭṭa*: the bodice with ruffles or jabot forming a *berthe*.

The picture could well serve as an illustration to Śudraka's *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act 5 (The Storm) translated by A. W. Ryder, Cambridge, 1905, where the arrival of an *abhisārikā* is vividly described:

"He only knows what riches are
Whose love comes to him from afar,
Whose arms that dearest form enfold
While yet with rain 'tis wet and cold!"

Published, C., *R. P.*, Pl. XXVII b, where an appropriate text from Keśavā Dās is quoted; and Goetz, H. and Ilse-Munk, *Gedichte aus dem indischen Liebesmystik des Mittelälters*. Leipzig, 1925, Pl. IV. Cf. also the *abhisārikā* composition of *Bibhāsa Rāgiṇī*, C., *R. P.*, Pl. I. Also published, in part, in Coomaraswamy and Sen, Vidyāpati, *Bangīya Padābali*, London, 1915, facing p. 63.

Probably by the same hand as No. CCC etc.

PLATE XCVI.

CCCX

17.3203. *Virahinī ?* lady in a garden with flowering trees, a companion singing with a *vīṇā* and followed by a tame deer. Storm clouds and lightning, and flying white birds. Brilliant colors, silver and gold, the gold indented in patterns. Jewellery represented in part by pieces of beetle wings.

Pahāṛī, Jamū; early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .270 × .178 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Pictures of this type represent a late form of the well-known Indian 'woman and tree' motif. More specifically, it is possible that they are connected with the story of Zaibu-n-Niṣā, the daughter of Aurangzīb, of whom it is said that "every day she would go and stoop over her lover's grave in the garden" and sorrowfully mourn his cruel fate. The subject is discussed by Syed Mohamed, *The Romance of Zaib-un-Nessa*, Rūpam, No. 25.

PLATE XCVII.

2. PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CCCXI

17.2499. *Navalā bālā:* love scene.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .191 × .192 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Probably by the master of the Nala-Damayantī series.

PLATE XCVIII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCXII

17.2500. Scene in the courtyard of a palace. A princess with her attendants. Before the place where she has been seated are two dolls, male and female, side by side; the princess herself has jumped up and is running into the palace; the duenna still speaking to her. Brush drawing over white priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .181 × .223 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Style of the Nala-Damayantī series, Nos. CI–CXXX. There existed an erotic game known as the imitation of puppets (*pañcālī*) (referred to by Keith, A. B., *The Sanskrit drama*, 1924, p. 53); possibly something of the kind is indicated here, as the princess is evidently overcome by shyness.

Plate XCVIII.

CCCXIII

17.2517. *Navalā bālā* or *Māninī:* a girl escapes from her lover's arms and is received by the *sakhī*.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .142 × .166 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Brush outline over yellow first drawing.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters:

Dohā: Vilakhi lakhai kharī-kharī, bharī anakha vair(ā) ga,
Mṛganainī saina bhajai, lakhi bainī ke dāga.
"She seems astounded and disturbed, and filled with anger and disgust:
The fawn-eye seeing her lover's disappointment, throws him a glance."

Cf. C., *R. P.*, p. 46.

CCCXIV

17.2538. Princess seated on a terrace above a garden, pensive, perhaps love-sick, and refusing to play with a doll, ball, etc., which her maidens are taking from a box. Duenna and five maiden attendants, and a child. Partly colored and with some color names inscribed (*badam, sapad,* etc.).

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .205 × .237 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCXV

17.2456. *Parakīyā nāyakā.* First drawing in red. Three panels, showing interior of a house, with the family priest (*purohita*) reading from the *purāṇas*.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .259 × .176 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Discussed, C., *R. P.*, p. 45. Inscribed in Nāgarī characters with a *kavitta* by Kālidāsa (fl. 1700). The Hindī text reads:

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K(avitta): *Kathā sunibe kau baiṭhī pati saṁga gāṁṭha jora,*
nāina nīcai ōra loka līka na kabō karē.
Kālidāsa tā samai guviṁda bēṭhe āna pāsa,
ruci madhupāna kī chabīlī chakībō karē.
Ghaṭanaṭa nāgara kī sūrata samāe rahī,
ikaṭaka ghūṁghaṭa kī oṭa takibō karē.
Aṭakyō tiyā ko mana navala sujāna saṁga,
bāburo purchiata purāna bakabo karē.

The names of colors indicated are *siṁdhūr, badāmī, khākī, supedā, sauj, kāṣṭ, nīlā, seranaraṁjī, sunā, gulābī, vasantī, pastākī, tosī, ratoj.*

Translation:

"She (Rādhā) sits by her husband's side to hear the recital, and (her veil and his scarf) are knotted together, her eyes cast down in accordance with custom, nought else.

O Kālidāsa! there comes Govinda (Kṛṣṇa) and takes his seat, and his beauty smacks of Bṛndāban:

The shape of that hardy lover is ever before her, and he gazes intently through her veil.

The woman's heart is entangled by the new hero, while the stupid priest mumbles *purāṇas!*"

The 'knot of love' is a metaphor implying attachment; the tying of garments is a part of the marriage ceremony. It is not, however, the actual marriage ceremony which is represented here, as the scene is within doors, and there is no fire. For the significance of them see also the text of Keśavā Dās accompanying M. F. A. **17.3110**, (Rasikapriyā MS.), where the *sakhī* tells Rādhā how she saw that Kṛṣṇa had embraced her 'and knotted together your veil and his scarf.' Cf. Rājaśekhara's *Karpura-manjarī*, IV, 20, 12 and references cited by Konow and Lanman, *Karpura-Manjarī*, translation, 1901, p. 289.

The poem is by Kālidāsa — possibly Kālidāsa Tribedī of Banpura in the Doāb, fl. ca. 1700 A.D.

PLATE XCVIII.

CCCXVI

17.2483. *Svādhīnapatika nāyakā.* Kṛṣṇa painting Rādhā's feet with red lac dye, the *sakhī* amazed. Black brush outline over grey sketch.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .146 × .202 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *1. Svādhīnapatikā.*

The following color names are indicated: *gulabī, sagarpha, rūpa, badamī, vasetī, siṁdhura.*

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Nos. CCCXVI–XXII in this catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2483–17.2489**) are seven from a set of eight *nāyakās* (*Aṣṭa-nāyakā*) in one series and by the same hand.

CCCXVII

17.2484. *Utkā nāyakā*, heroine standing under a tree on a bed of leaves awaiting her lover. Night scene.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .147 × .203 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *2. Utkalachanam* (= *Utkā lakṣaṇam*) i. e., characteristics of the *Utkā nāyakā*.

Color names indicated: *sudhura, sej, rāta* (= blackness of night), *khakī*.

CCCXVIII

17.2485. *Abhisaṁdhitā nāyakā*. This heroine offended, the hero departing, the *sakhī* amazed.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .146 × .202 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *4, Abhisaṁdhitā*.

Partly colored and redrawn.

Color names indicated: *jarāda* (*?*), *surākhi, supedā, narājī, sej, badami, gulabī, asemenī, khakī, rūpa, cīharā*.

CCCXIX

17.2486. *Khaṇḍitā nāyakā*, hero returning to the heroine at sunrise, having spent the night elsewhere.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .147 × .202 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *5. Atha khaṁḍitā*, "Thus the khaṇḍitā."

Color names indicated: *suped, gulabi, suna, sudhurā, seberā, vasetī, sugarph*.

CCCXX

17.2487. *Proṣita-preyasī* or *Proṣita-patikā nāyakā*, the heroine whose lord is abroad and does not return. The heroine is seated in dejection, listening to what is said by the *sakhī*.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .146 × .201 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *6. Proṣita khatikā* (error for *patikā*).

Color names indicated: *surākhi, badami, jumurāti, supedā, asemanī, khakī, narāji*.

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CCCXXI

17.2488. *Vipralabdhā nāyakā*, the heroine who has waited all night in vain. She stands on the bed of leaves and is throwing down her jewels in disgust.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .146 × .201 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *7. Vipralabdhā.*

Color names indicated: *khakī, narājī, sejā, asemanī.*

CCCXXII

17.2489. *Abhisārikā nāyakā*, seeking her lover at night, undeterred by goblins and serpents.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .148 × .202 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *8. Abhisārikā.*

Color names indicated: *sej, khīphī, sunā, gulabi.*

CCCXXIII

17.2495. *Khaṇḍitā nāyakā.* Kṛṣṇa returning to Rādhā in the morning, having spent the night elsewhere; she reproving him with lifted finger (*tarjanī hasta*). Sunrise.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .201 × .275 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XCIX.

CCCXXIV

17.2491. Recto, *Madhyā Khaṇḍitā Nāyakā:* heroine to whom the hero returns in the morning, having spent the night elsewhere. Verso, *Proṣita-patikā*, heroine whose lord is abroad. Brush drawing, in red.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .153 × .225 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed with Hindī texts, by Mati Rām.

Madhyā Khaṁḍita: K(abitta):

Jāvaka līlāra oṭha aṁjana kī līka sõ, he beaina
alīka loka līka na viśāriye:
Kavi Mati Rāma chāti nakha chata jaga mage, ḍaga mage
paga sūdhe maga me na dhāriye:
Kaśa ke ughārata hau palaka palaka yāte, alīkā mai
pauḍhi sramarāti kau nivāriye:
Atapaṭe bēna mukha bātani kahata bane, laṭapaṭe
peca śira pāga ke sudhāriye.
Dohā. Kou karo kiteka yaha tajau na ṭeva gupāla:

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Niśi aurani kai paga parauṁ dina aurani kai lālā.
Citra.

lilāra = *lalāṭa*, brow, etc.
chata = *kṣata* = scar.
sramarāti = *śramarttī*, wearied.

"O false Baina! your scarlet brow-spot (smudged), your (bruised) lips like a line of kohl, do not cast away regard for propriety:
Ah! Mati Rām! Marks of nails are glaring on your breast, your step is staggering, not following the straight path,
Forcibly keeping your eyelids open, obstinate in guile, go rest your weariness:
Uttering confused speeches, go straighten the tangled folds of your turban.
Whatever any one may do, Gopāla will not leave his (wicked) ways
Here by day, and there by night, his footsteps fall."

Verso:

Proṣita-pataka: K(avitta): Bāra kitīka sahelini kai kahãi, kesihũ ketini bīri sabārī,
Rākhati roki kahai Mati Rāma, calāi asuvā akhiyā nitai bhārī,
Prāna-payārau calyo jabatai, tabatai kachu orahī rīta nihārī,
Pīrī janābati aṁgani mãi kahi, pīra janābati kāhe na pyārī,
Dohā: Piyā viyoga tiya dṛga jalaiṁdhī jala-taraṁga adhikāī,
Baruni mūla velā parosi bahū syo bahuri bilāī: 6: citra.

"How many times she asks her friends . . . .
She weeps continually, says Mati Rām, the tears ever flowing from her brimming eyes;
Since her heart's darling went away, since then she seems transformed.
What suffering is apparent in her body! Why is her darling unaware of it?
Divided from her dear, the woman's eyes are filled with a flowing tide of tears
. . . deaf to her neighbors, wastes away."

CCCXXV

17.2660. *Khaṇḍitā nāyakā.* The heroine whose lord returns in the early morning (sunrise), having spent the night elsewhere. Probably by Molā Rām (1760–1833 A.D.).

Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .119 × .213 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sāh of Gaṛhwāl.
Verso with descriptive *dohā* and *kavitta*, by Mola Rām, imperfect:

(Do)hā: Jāko pati nisa hī phīrai, vāsara āvai geha
Tā(soī) ūttara deha. 1.
Kavitu: Manmatha kai rahata nāhī mana jo ja kuṭhaura ṭhaura
kāka jyauṁ phasāvoge

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Chāḍi kula kāja aru jahā̃ na sārī kāhū dina kāhū ke pāle parijāvoge
Vaha aṁbara au bhūṣana tārī paṁcana ke . . . āghe, tuma . . . ta.
Kavi Molā Rāma ghanasyāma ju sauṁ syāma aba māṇa, pāche pachatāvoge.

"She whose husband comes home after wandering all night,
Addresses him as follows:
'You keep no check on Manamatha, but like a crow (that visits) proper and improper places, you will bring (yourself) into the net:
Abandoning family duty (wandering about) the whole world, some day you will fall into someone's hands,
Who will take away your gay clothes and jewels and bring you before the elders.'
Mola Rāma says, Śyāmā said to Ghanaśyāma 'Now take my advice, or you will repent it later.'"

The short superscription, recto, in the same hand reads:

(Va)rnanam: Uligha samaye jasyā preyā anyopa bhoga . . . sāhi khaṇḍitā. 2

"She whose beloved returns at an improper hour from the enjoyment of another is 'Khaṇḍitā.'"

Writing in same hand as M. F. A. **17.2662**; probably autograph of Molā Rām.

Color names inscribed: *āsamānī* = sky blue; *nīlā* = blue; *khāki-halkā* = light buff; *saped* = white; *savaj* = green; *savaju-halka* = light green; *saṁdur* = scarlet; *sonā* = gold; *baidāmi* = rose.

PLATE XCIX.

CCCXXVI

25.528. *Khaṇḍitā nāyakā:* Kṛṣṇa returns at dawn and is met by Rādhā. Rādhā holds a *kohl* stick in her right hand, and the *kohl* box in her left. Kṛṣṇa holds a mirror (?). Brush outline over red first drawing on unprimed paper. Verso with Hindī text.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, oval, .15 × .21 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Text:

(Ādi) bhare niśi jāgi kai mohana āye mahāṁ kari keli su(hāī)
Bolī na bola kubola kachū phiri soi beko subha seja bicchāī
Ārasī dai kara mõ sanamāna kai Rādhike yaisī karīcaturāī
Lālu kī lālī lakhī akhiyā tinahī hasi aṁjana le uṭhi dhāī.

"Kānha came back in the morning from a night of waking, having played a pretty play
Without speaking any harsh words, she turned and spread him an easy bed.
'She is giving me rest and doing me honor' (he thinks) — but this was Rādhā's cunning;
And seeing the redness of his eyes, she smiled at him and offered him the *kohl*."

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CCCXXVII

17.2497. *Khaṇḍitā nāyakā.* Kṛṣṇa returning to Rādhā, having spent the night elsewhere.

Pahāṛī, Kaṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .167 × .223 m., oval. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCXXVIII

17.2613. *Utka Nāyakā;* the heroine seated on a bed of leaves in a lonely grove, at night (moonlight); water in the foreground, a jackal gliding by to the left. Partly colored, the figure of the heroine, and the jackal, unfinished, with color names written in.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, about 1800.

Dimensions, .098 × .16 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XCIX.

CCCXXIX

17.2490. *Proṣita-preyasī* addressing a prayer to the passing clouds.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .210 × .263 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. C., *R. P.*, p. 50.

Reverse inscribed in red with Hindī text:

Kavitta: Garajata ghana suna sarada mayaka-mukhī
barajata sakhana pai caṛhī hẽ aṭana pai,
Bhūma bhasyāī biṁdu dekha suganāī naikai
kāna de rahī mora cātraka raṭana pai,
Cūnarī suraṁga raṁga paiharāi kuraṁga-nainī
sirasi kai phūla vārõ nāja kī laṭana pai,
Dekhe bhae hẽ syāma to batāo pyāre ghana-syāma
chaṭana-sī ṭhāṛhī pūchẽ khabara ghaṭa-naṭana pai.

"Hearing the thundering of the autumn clouds, the moon-faced lady dismisses her *sakhīs* and goes up onto the roof,

The *nāyakā,* seeing the good omen of the drops of rain falling on the ground, lent her ear to the crying of the peacocks and the *cātakas;*

The fawn-eyed lady wears a gaily colored spotted veil, and flowers on her head enchanted by her dainty locks,

If any one has seen Śyām, tell me where is that 'Dark Cloud,' and like a flash of lightning she stands and prays for news of the 'Hardy Rake.'"

Ghaṭa naṭana might be rendered as 'Don Juan,' 'tough fellow,' etc. Cf. No. CCCXV, (M. F. A. **17.2456**).

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CCCXXX

17.2659. *Proṣita-preyasī*, or *Proṣita-patikā nāyakā:* dejected heroine sitting with her *sakhī*.

Pahāṛī, Garhwāl, nineteenth century. Probably by Molā Rām (1760–1833 A.D.).

Dimensions, .196 × .273 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed with a descriptive *dohā* from the *Rasikapriyā* of Keśava Dās. Writing in same hand as No. CCCXXV (M. F. A. **17.2660**).

Dohā: Jā ko prītama dai avadhi gayo konahī kāja,
Tā kau proṣita-preyasī kahī baranata kavī-rājā.

"The King of poets tells of her as *Proṣita-preyasī* whose darling has gone abroad on some business, appointing a time of return."

Color names written in: *gulābī, baidāmī, savaj, nīlā, lāl* (rose, almond, green, blue, red).

CCCXXXI

17.2496. *Vāsakaśayya nāyakā:* the heroine who awaits or receives her lord with the bed spread.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .223 × .273 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced, 'Journal of Indian Art,' No. 128, Pl. 6, Fig. 12. The heroine "stands at the door of her home," as Keśava Dās says, "happy in the expectation of her darling's coming." Maids are making ready to receive him. He is seen on horseback across the water and is about to take the boat.

Probably by the master of the Nala-Damayantī series.

CCCXXXII

17.2611. *Abhisārikā nāyakā:* night scene, Rādhā approaching Kṛṣṇa seated in a grove by a bed of leaves. Background colored, figures in outline.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .285 × .193 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: C., *R. P.*, Pl. LXXIII B, and p. 45.

Verso with Hindī text in Nāgarī characters

Atha Kṛṣṇābhisārikā:

Kavitta: Kārī ghana ghaṭā bhārī pahiri lai kārī sārī, āṅkhina meṁ dekhyo tere kāro kajarāi hai,
Kāro īkuraṁga sāru ghasikai lagāu aṁga, kāro covā kaṁcukī so bhalẽ-he bhigāi hai
Kāre pāṭa suṁdara yuhāe sabha bhūṣana, kārī benī pīṭha para chorikai suhāi hai,
Ese samẽ esī hvaikai jāi-milī kānhara-sõ, āju-hī to sigarī karāi kāma āi hai.

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Translation:

"Leaden and lowering and heavy-laden clouds — dight in a robe of black — dark collyrium is seen upon thine eyes —

All thy limbs o'erspread with one dark hue — thy bodice deeply dyed in dark *covā*.

Lovely the jet-black silken robe, and all thy gear becoming — the black braid beauteous on thy back let fall —

At such a time, in such a guise, when thou shalt meet thy Kṛṣṇa, all your efforts shall bear fruit."

By a poet not identified (not Keśava Dās). With l. 2. cf. *Mṛcchikaṭika*, Act 1, v. 33, 'Darkness anoints my body,' etc.

PLATE C.

CCCXXXIII

17.2612. *Abhisārikā nāyakā:* the heroine goes through storm and danger to meet her lover. Night scene, with lightning and heavy rain.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .295 × .193 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: C., *R. P.*, Pl. LXXIII a, pp. 32–35.

The group of deodars to the left is most unusual, and I recall only one other instance.

Obverse with a Hindī text in Nāgarī characters, *nāyakā abhisārikā kautta* is practically identical with that of No. CCCXXXII (M. F. A. **17.2611**) already quoted and translated.

PLATE C.

CCCXXXIV

17.2653. *Abhisārikā nāyakā:* proceeding on her way through a night of storm and danger. Night scene, with heavy clouds, pouring rain, and flashes of lightning. Serpents on the ground, one near the heroine's foot. Dark trees. Water in foreground, with characteristic zigzag margin and foam-wreath. The heroine has dropped an armlet or necklace. In full color and gold. Ascribed by Bālak Rām Sāh to Molā Rām of Gaṛhwāl (1760–1833 A.D.).

Dimensions, .162 × .250 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl in 1911.

Closely realizing typical poems on the *Abhisārikā*, but not inscribed. See, e.g., *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act. 5.

For Molā Rām, see C., *R. P.*, p. 23; 'Journal of Indian Art', No. 132, p. 35; and 'Rūpam,' no. 8, 1921.

PLATE CI.

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CCCXXXV

17.2493. *Abhisārikā nāyakā:* the heroine (Rādhā) seeking the hero (Kṛṣṇa) at night undeterred by the terrors of the storm, the goblins and the darkness. Kṛṣṇa waiting under a tree. Night scene.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .148 × .186 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

'Journal of Indian Art,' No. 128, p. 110.

Hindī text inscribed reverse in Nāgarī characters:

Bhādoṁ kī aṁdherī rāta taṛitā taṛataṛāta, maga bho apāra āge nadī hai kīnārī hai,
Jahāṁ bhārī bhīra hai nisācara curailana kī, tāke bīca charī-sī masāla-sī nihārī hai,
Prema paṁtha parī yāte parī-sī uṛānī jā, nabhana taka biṁda lāgī lagana karārī hai,
Jahā bana ghana syāma umaḍe hai ghana syāma tahā pyāri bāma ghanasyāma pē sidhārī hai.

"Dark night of Bhādoṁ, thunder crashing, pouring rain, path impassable, forsooth, in front the river's edge —
Where a thick host of goblins and ghosts appears, she is seen between them like a (slender) staff or a (shining) torch.
On love's way wending, she flies like a fairy, a speck in the sky, irresistibly drawn on (by her love),
Where the thicket is deep and dark, and where the dark cloud swells, there the loving woman goes to seek her Ghanaśyāma."

Ghanaśyāma, Dark Cloud, or Deep Dark, is a well-known epithet of Kṛṣṇa. Cf. v. 3 of a Bihārī *Bārah-māsa* poem, translated by G. A. Grierson, *Some Bihārī folk-songs*, J. B. A. S., 1884, p. 219. "In Bhādo the night is terrible, and when I see it, I fear in my heart. In all directions flasheth the lightning, and the clouds fill up their masses and thunder."

Bhādoṁ = August-September, the rainy season in Bihār.

For remarks on the original significance of the goblin hags in *abhisārikā* pictures see Grünwedel, A., *Die Teufel des Avesta;* Berlin, 1924, II, 30.

CCCXXXVI

17.2661. *Svādhinapatikā nāyakā*, the heroine whose lord is at her command: Kṛṣṇa washing Rādhā's feet in a garden, the *sakhī* holding a towel. Partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, early nineteenth century, probably by Molā Rām (1760–1833 A.D.).

Dimensions, .157 ×.241 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Obverse inscribed with descriptive verse (the *sakhīs* 'aside') from the *Rasikapriyā* of Keśava Dās:

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Prachanna Svādhīnapatikā jathā:

Kavittu: Kesava jībana jo braja ko puni jīvahũ-tai ati bāpa-hĩ bhāvai,
Jā para deva adeva kumāra nivārata bāhu namāi lagāvai.
Tā hari pāi tu gavāra kī beṭi mahā ura (pāĩ jha)vāī dīvāvai,
*Mai to baci naiku hāṁsī āisāi aisai jo hoi to ūtaru āvai.**

Approximate translation:

"Oh Keśava! who is the life of Braj, and more intensely dear than life to your father
To whom gods and non-gods, and princes bow down and pay honor,
O farmer's daughter, how bold you are, who dost get thy feet to be painted by that very Hari!
I smile indeed and wash my hands of it, but if you act thus, some (ill) result will come of it."

Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.

CCCXXXVII

17.2513. *Candrābhisārikā:* girl crossing a courtyard, veiling her face, a youth looking down from a window.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .150 × .215 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

C., *R. P.*, p. 47 (incorrectly translated).

Inscribed with Hindī text in Nāgarī characters.

Dohā: Jure duhana ke driga jhamaki ruke na jhĩnai cīra,
Halkī phoja harola jyau parata gola para bhīra.

"The thin veil hindered not the meeting of their flashing glances, even as when the advance guard is much pressed, then the weak army falls into disorder."

Inscribed in another hand *Candrābhisārikā kī:* if correctly so described, this is not a case of *purva rāga*, the dawn of love, or *darṣaṇa*, first seeing, which, however, it might as well or better exemplify.

Cf. *Karpūra-mañjarī*, III, 2:

"Her lovely glance, as quick she bent her neck,
Shot sidelong by, and pierced my very heart."

PLATE CII.

* A better text is quoted and translated 'Journal of Indian Art,' No. 128, p. 101: from this the letters within brackets are supplied. The whole verse is printed on p. 89 of the *Rasikapriyā*, Bombay edition of 1900. Even here the exact meaning is not clear, and the *ṭīkā* is useless.

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CCCXXXVIII

17.2492. Crow-augury: *Vāsakaśayyā nāyakā*, drawing omens from the flight of crows. One of her *sakhīs* watching for her lord's return, others making the bed in an upper chamber. Partly colored.

Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .185 × .254 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse inscribed with a *kavitta*, by Tula Rāma, in Pañjābī:

Kavitta: *Jā̃ hmāṛī āsa sapuraṇa ho gatā̃ sune rupe thuāṛī cuṁja maḍhāyām,*
Mo palā ghī guḍa pāī 'bhalā bhale curiyadī tukī coga cugāyām,
Jīte ghaṛī Tulā Rāma mile mekī jite ghaṛī ghaṛī īka nālāyām,
Te je dīkhī karī kaṁta hmāṛā ghare āuṁdā ajjaṁtāṁ uḍara kāyām.

This may be translated:

"If my desire be fulfilled, hearken, I shall make your beak to be plated with silver.
I shall make you to eat a spoonful of the best parched rice mixed with *ghī* and sugar."

Tulā Rāma says "O let me meet him while yet I live, lest all my days I weep alone;
If you have seen my lord a coming home, then fly away from the cornice, crow!"

The crow is regarded as the messenger of separated lovers.

See C., *R. P.*, pp. 50, 51.

PLATE CII.

CCCXXXIX

17.2604. Crow-augury: Lady in a doorway drawing omens from the crow in the flowering tree in the garden.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .130 × .200 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

For 'crowcraft' see C., *R. P.*, p. 51, and the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 19). The crow is the messenger of separated lovers. Cf. No. CCCXXXVIII.

PLATE CII.

CCCXL

17.2516. *Virahinī:* a lady stretched on a bed, suffering pangs of love. Companions fanning her and offering cooling drinks.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .237 × .180 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

C., *R. P.*, p. 51.

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Reverse with Hindī text, by Dev:

Kavitta: Bālama biraha jiha jānyo na janma bhari, bari bari
uṭhai jyoṁ jyoṁ barasai barapharāti.
Bījana ḍulāvati sakhījana tyõ sītahū mẽ, sauti
ke satāpa tana tāpana tarapharāti.
Devaṁ kahai sāsana hi asuvā sukhāti, mukha nikasai na
bāta, kaṁṭha sisakī sarapharāti.
Loṭi loṭi parati karoṭa khaṭapāṭī lai lai, sūkhe
jala sapharī jyõ seja para pharapharāti.

"In all her life she has not known the pain of separation from the beloved, she starts up again and again, and while it rains she writhes in agony,
And though her maidens ply the fan, and eke in winter time, her body tosses in her burning jealousy of the co-wife,
Deva says her heavy breathing dries her tears, no word comes from her mouth, her throat is choked with sobbing,
She turns and tumbles to and fro and lies upon the bedstead's edge, and like a *sapharī* (-fish) that 's out of water, jumps convulsively upon the bed."

This is seventh degree of love sickness, called *viyādhi*: even better illustrated in No. CCCVIII (M. F. A. **17.3113**).

CCCXLI

17.2533. *Virahinī:* pensive lady seated in a room. Redrawn over white priming.
Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .148 × .181 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCXLII

17.2539. *Virahinī:* lady holding a branch of weeping willow.
Pahāṛī, late nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .125 × .163 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCXLIII

20.1618. *Virahinī:* a lady reclining on a couch, fanning herself, attended by a maid offering cooling drinks.
Pahāṛī, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .193 × .250 m. Ross Collection.

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RAJPUT PAINTINGS

CCCXLIV

22.675. *Virahinī* (Rādhā): a painter at work on a wall in a private house, painting a picture of Rādhā (who stands beside him) and Kṛṣṇa; implements of his craft (color pans, brushes, *qalamdān*, and book of sketches) on the table and on the floor. Hindī text.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .15 × .178 m. Gift of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Hindī text:

Kavitta: Sājha te bhora loṁ, bhora tẽ sāṁjha loṁ,
bāsara bītata jāta mahĩnau(ṁ),
Pīra parāī tūṁ jāne kahā, su to jãnata hai
vu kānha pravĩnoṁ,
Dĩnoṁ mẽ kāgada, koroṁ nihoroṁ ki,
kaṁcana ke jalavo nivīnoṁ,
Aire citere bitere kite dina mitra ko citra
na tai likhi dĩnoṁ.
Dohā: Tumarī tumare mitra kī sūrata likhoṁ banā (v)ai
Bichuroṁ prīta[ma] citra mẽ china mẽ deho milā(v)ai

(Rādhā complains):

"From evening to morning, and morning to evening, the days are passing and months go by,
What do you wot of the woes of others? None but the wise understands!
I gave you freely clean paper, fresh and shining like glass
Oh, painter! how many days have passed, and you have not drawn the picture of my friend!"

(The painter answers):

"I shall so prepare the portrait of yourself and your friend
That instantly in the picture the divided lovers shall meet."

The idea of uniting the lovers in or by means of a picture has earlier parallels. For example, in Bhāṣa's *Svapna Vāsavadattā* the marriage of King Udayana and the princess Vāsavadattā, is completed in effigy by their parents, by drawing their portraits on a panel (cf. Kramrisch, S., *Vishṇudharmottaram*, introduction, p. 7; Sukthankar, V. S., *Vāsavadattā*, London, 1923, p. 74).

The verse mentions paper, and to this extent is not concordant with the picture. As regards the phrase 'shining like glass,' it may be remarked that the stiff paper used by the Kāṅgṛā painters often appears to have been burnished before use.

PLATE XCIX.

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CCCXLV

17.2514. *Māninī:* seated with bent back, on a circular stool, not regarding the hero who stands behind and addresses her. Brush outline, rose color.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .133 × .214 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. C., *R. P.*, p. 49.

Inscribed with a *kavitta.*

Kavitta: Adhara dharadhara bhujana sau bhuja bhari,
kāma kī kathāna kara rasa rīta līnī hai,
Nainana sau naina hiya hiya sau baṛhāyo cena,
aura aṁga aṁga dina rena prīti kīnī hai,
Amṛta jehiṁ tū abateū anahiṁtū bhae,
anahitū hitū yaha jugata navīnī he,
Īṭha aṁga dīṭha tere māna me gumāna kārī,
pyārī terī pīṭha me sau pīṭha pāi na dīnī he.

To be translated:

"With trembling lips and arm with arm enlinked, a tale of love we told, and went the way of joy;
Eye with eye and heart with heart consented freely, limb to limb by night and day we loved,
And honey-sweet wert thou, who now art grown my foe; new-fangled this commingled love and hate!
Showing such pride in your body and your looks:
O dear one, do not turn thy back thus back to me!"

Color names inscribed: *khākī, khāka, asamanī, supedā, supada, soj, sojā, surakhī, badamī, sunā, sudalī, dupā.*

CCCXLVI

17.2515. Sheet of four drawings in red, viz.: (A) *Virahinī*, a lady with a fan standing beside a tree by moonlight, (B) man with a child on his back seeking to appease an offended heroine (*māninī*), (C) a woman beside a tree smoking, (D) *Virahinī*, a woman with arms stretched overhead and fingers interlaced (*karkaṭa hasta*).

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .281 × .204 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

(A) with inscription, above in Sanskrit (a *śloka*), below in Hindī (a *dohā*);

Dohā: Piā nikaṭa jina ke nahī, ghāma cāṁdnī tāha,
Piā nikaṭa jina ke rahī, ghāma cāṁdnī tāha.

"For her whose darling is not nigh, the moonlight scorches like the sun,
For her whose darling is near at hand, the heat of the sun is moonlight-cool."

C., *R. P.*, p. 49.

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CCCXLVII

25.536. *Līlā-hāva;* Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa walking in landscape towards a grove at high noon, each dressed in the other's clothes. Fully colored.

Pahāṛī, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .167 × .210 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Nāgarī text, detached:

Dohā: Rādhā Hari Hari Rādha ke bani āe saṁketa
Daṁpati rati biparīta sukha saihaja sūrata-hũ leta. 1.

"The station of Rādhā being made Hari, and Hari, Rādhā,
The twain with affections transposed, easily attain to blissful union."

Līlā-hāva is a technical term of Indian rhetoric. Thus, Keśava Dāsa, *Rasikapriyā* (*Bhāvalakṣaṇa, 21*).

'Wheresoever play is enjoyed, the lover disguised as beloved, there originates *Līlāhāva*, says Keśava Dāsa,' and Dhanaṁjāya, *Daśarūpa*, 11.60, 'Līlā is the imitation of a lover in the actions of a fair-limbed maiden.'

The exchange of clothes is a symbol of love and identity, often referred to in Vaiṣṇava literature (e.g., Coomaraswamy and Sen, *Vidyāpati*, 1915, p. 176) and not unknown to Western lovers. Here Kṛṣṇa wears Rādhā's bodice, veil, and skirt (cf. his disguise as Dudhādhārī, Nos. CCXL–CCXLII of this Catalogue), Rādhā wears his crown (*mora-mukuṭa*), yellow *jāma'* and scarf, and carries the flute (*baṁsī*) and a lotus of dalliance (*līlā-kamala, līlābja*).

Plate CIII.

F. Bāramāsa Illustration

1. Rājasthānī

CCCXLVIII

23.154. The month of Jyeṣṭh, from a *Bāra-māsa* series. Prince and lady seated on the terrace of the pavilion of a walled garden, with one attendant; trees, a pool with an elephant and other animals, and servants resting and cooking in the foreground. Fully colored. Red borders.

Rājasthānī, late seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .218 × .295 m. Ross Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters with a verse by Keśava Dās. Text (partly defaced):

Eka kūsamaya hīna bhūta tajhi paṁcabhūta bhrama,
Anila aṁbu ākāsa avani hai jāta agani sama.
Patha thakita mada mukita sukhata sara siṁdhū rajovata,
Kākā darakara kosa karatara keha rimovata.
Piya prabala jhīva iha bidhi caṁcala sakala bikala jala thala rahata,

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Taji keśava dāsa udāsamati jeṭh mãsa jeṭhe kahata.
(*tajhi, jhīva*, errors for *taji, jīva; movata* apparently = *mar-jātā* dying.)

"In an evil season weak creatures abandon the five breaths' movement,
The wind, the waters, the sky and the earth become like fire,
Wayfaring is wearisome, sapping the energies, and the dry (bed of) Sindhū is nought but sand
The crows are abashed and seek for shelter, the lion is dying,
Even the soul that is strong in the Beloved is without rest and distressed; as for water and land,
Keśava Dāsa abandons in despair the tale of all that concerns the month of Jyeṣṭh."

Same hand and series as No. CCCXLIX (M. F. A. **23.155**). A few others of this series are in possession of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

PLATE CIV.

CCCXLIX

23.155. Month not named, but evidently Māgha, as the text, by Keśava Dās, describes the *Vasanta utsava* or Spring Festival. From a *Bāra-māsa* series. Prince standing in a walled garden, attendants offering a vase of flowers, and throwing colored powders. Fully colored, with red borders.

Rājasthānī, late seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .225 × .297 m. Ross Collection.

Superscribed in Nāgarī characters:

Bi(ṣama):
Bana upabana kekī kapota kokila bahu bolata,
Keśava bhūle bhamãra bhare bahu bhāyana ḍolaṁta.
Mṛgamada laya kapūra dhūri dhūsarata dasaudisa,
Tāla mṛdaṁga upaṁga sunata saṁgīta nisa.
Khelata basaṁta tasu ghara saṁta asaṁta anaṁgati,
Ghara nāha na chaḍiya māha mahi jau mana mãhi saneha gati.

"Peacocks, doves and cuckoos are constantly calling in wood and grove,
Keśava is amazed by the roving, swiftly revolving swarms of black bees,
The ten airts are filled with the dust of musk and camphor,
Cymbals, drum, *upaṁga* sounding by night the ensemble of music,
The wise and unwise, enjoying the festival of Spring in their homes, are beside themselves (with joy):
If there be any place for love in your heart, you should not leave home in this month."

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Anaṅgati, literally bodiless (cf. Kāmadevàs epithet *anaṅga*) translated as 'beside themselves' is a technical term of Yoga denoting *mukti*.

Same hand and series as No. CCCXLVIII (M. F. A. **23.154**).

PLATE CV.

2. PAHĀṚĪ

CCCL

17.2689. *Kārttika varṇana:* illustration from a *Bāra-māsa* series (poems describing the twelve months). Man and woman seated on a terrace in conversation, a river with swimmers, a village, garden and hills with rising sun beyond. Brush drawing, oval.

Pahāṛī, Garhwāl, dated = 1774 A.D.

Describing the pleasant sports of the season, especially the *Dīvālī*, the Festival of Lamps.

Obtained from Balak Rām Sāh of Garhwāl, and ascribed to Mola Rām.

Dimensions, .148 × .195 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed *Kārtika barnana*, 'the Praise of Kārttika.'

Inscribed reverse with Hindī text of Keśava Dās:

Kārttika barnana: Bana upabana jala thala akāsa . . . sata dīpa gana,
Sukha hī sukha sukha rāti juvā khelata daṁpati jana,
Deva caritra vicitra citra citrita śaṁgana ghara,
Jagata jagata jagadīsa joti jagamag ati nāri nara,
Dina dāna hnāna guna gāna hari, janama suphala kari lijjiyai,
Kahi Kesava Dāsa videsa mati kakā tana tiga kijjiyai 8
Saṁvat 1832 Phā-Mārgasī . . . 15

Translation:

"The description of Kārttika:

In forest and grove, on the water, and the earth and in the air are a hundred groups of lamps,
Utmost delight prevails, and in this night of delight are loving couples disporting,
Wonderful stories of the gods are painted in the courtyards of the houses,
All men and women are bright with the radiance of the Lord of the Worlds.
You should make life fruitful by passing the day in the giving of gifts, in taking baths, and singing the praises of God,
Keśava says, O Kakā, you should not go to a foreign land to leave your body there."

The third line refers to ritual *alipana* paintings, such as are executed by the ladies of the house on the floor of the inner court on particular occasions. Paintings of this kind in white *chāvan* are of a merely temporary character. For *alipana* paintings, cf. Sen,

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D. C., *Eastern Bengal Ballads, Mymensing*, Vol. I, pt. 1, Calcutta, p. 268 and Tagore, A. N., *L'Alpona ou les décorations rituelles au Bengal*, Paris, 1921.

Cf. v. 5 of a Bihārī *Bāraḥ-māsa*, translated by G. A. Grierson, *Some Bihārī folk-songs*, J. R. A. S., 1886, p. 219.

"In Kātik are holy actions performed, O Ūdhō, and my friends are all engaged in sport. They worship Hari in the doorway, and return home glad."

Kātik = October–November (pleasant weather, after the heat and the rains).

G. Miscellaneous, Mainly Genre

1. Rājasthānī, mainly Jaipur

CCCLI

14.681. Peacock feather in colors and gold, realistically treated.

Rājasthānī (?) seventeenth century?

Dimensions, .122 × .175 m. Goloubew Collection.

That the painting of a peacock feather in a realistic manner belongs to the old Indian tradition is indicated by an episode in the Jaina story of Nagga, where a rājā breaks his finger nails in attempting to pick up a peacock feather painted on the floor (Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, a translation of Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārashṭrī*). Reproduced, Rūpam, no. 4, 1920, with quotation and commentary on the episode above referred to.

CCCLII

14.859. Young man seated on a terrace, entertained by a dancing girl, with chorus.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Dimensions, .189 × .237 m.

CCCLIII

15.35. Prince in a garden with attendants and dancing girls.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .397 × .29 m. Ross Collection.

CCCLIV

15.36. Scene on the terrace of a palace: lovers on a couch, with a maidservant and musicians.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .237 × .305 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCLV

15.50. Princess in a garden, verandah of house to right: with musicians and attendant.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur (?), nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .14 × .19 m. Ross Collection.

CCCLVI

15.57. Visit of a prince to a saint, the latter with a rosary. Servant with peacock fly-whisk behind.

Late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .145 × .238 m. Ross Collection.

CCCLVII

15.78. Lady seated in courtyard of a palace, with attendants; buildings and landscape.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur (?), nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .228 × .31 m. Ross Collection.

CCCLVIII

17.70. Toilet scene, lady on a terrace bathing her feet, with one attendant, landscape beyond. Fully colored.

(Rājasthānī or Central Provinces), with considerable Mughal influence. Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .124 × .173 m. Ross Collection.

CCCLIX

17.2558. Magical diagram, consisting of a human figure partly covered with squares containing monograms in Nāgarī script, representing mantrams; and framed between two erect snakes. Woodcut or lithograph. Pink ink. Imperfect. Place and date uncertain.

Dimensions, .136 × .216 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLX

17.2915. Lady with two attendants in a meadow by a river. She is removing a thorn from her foot (?) or dancing.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .206 × .258 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXI

17.2918. Two girls standing on a terrace: clasping hands and holding lotus flowers.

Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .156 × .204 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCLXII

17.2919. Girl with a parrot.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .148 × .204 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXIII

17.2294. Two men seated, one with a book, the other with a musical instrument.
Rājasthānī, seventeenth century.
Dimensions: .569 × .064 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained with Jain MSS from Pūj Kṛpā Ṛṣi at Pattan, Pañjāb.
Same hand and series as Nos. LXXXIV, CLIV.

CCCLXIV

17.3028. Running elephant. Tracing on thin European paper.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .213 × .211 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXV

17.3029. Two drawings of camels with riders.
Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, each .137 × .112 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXVI

17.3033. Elephant hunt. Wild elephants in rocky landscape; two tame with riders; a horseman shooting at a wild elephant. Partly colored. Shows Mughal influence.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .163 × .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXVII

17.3034. Head of a horse. Brush outline on skin.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .072 × .068 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXVIII

17.3035. Two sketches of cows and a man's head on skin.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .120 × .070 m. and .042 × .118 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCLXIX

17.3036. Lion attacking a man; lion and lioness with deer. Very delicate brush outline, sketch or tracing, on skin.

Dimensions, .108 × .107 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXX

17.3039. Lovers drinking. Crude execution. Brick red border.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur (?), eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .142 × .195 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXI

17.3040. Princess, with a chorus of eight girls clapping time. Architectural background. Partly pricked and used as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .191 × .295 m.

CCCLXXII

17.3042. Girl with a fan, feeding a baby. Pricked and used as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, nineteenth century. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Dimensions, .120 × .139 m.

CCCLXXIII

17.3043. A lady seated drinking. Pricked and used as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, nineteenth century. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Dimensions, .131 × .183 m.

CCCLXXIV

17.3044. Maid with a peacock fly-whisk. Outline drawing.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .142 × .230 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXV

17.3045. Cartoon of a lady drinking wine: pricked and used as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .200 × .290 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXVI

17.3046. Spirited sketch of a woman on horseback: an attendant on foot.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .118 × .157 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCLXXVII

17.3048. Lady with a *sitār*. Brush outline.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .083 × .113 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXVIII

17.3049. Girl with arms raised overhead and fingers interlaced: amorous gesture. Yellow paper pricked and used for stencil.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century. (Copy of a seventeenth-century original.)

Dimensions, .114 × .169 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXIX

17.3052. Circus scene: girl with a performing goat standing on three superimposed drums. Seven girls looking on. Sketch of another with a tambourine; and a tree. Reverse with sketches of two men's heads.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .164 × .119 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXX

17.3053. Love scene. Pricked for use as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .089 × .209 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXXI

17.3054. Head of a girl, with circular cap, probably copy of a Mughal seventeenth-century original. Pricked and used as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .154 × .209 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXXII

17.3055. Lady seated smoking a *hukka*, with a maid servant and a pet deer. Brush outline pricked for use as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .139 × .088 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXXIII

17.3056. Three ladies in a *hammam* (Turkish bath), with ten attendants, mostly nude; four of the attendants are musicians. (Perhaps copy of earlier Mughal original.)

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .218 × .284 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCLXXXIV

17.3057. A lady at her toilet, with seven attendants, mostly nude, and a duenna; interior. Pricked for use as a stencil and darkened by use. Perhaps a copy of an older Mughal original.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .213 × .297 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXXV

17.3058. A lady at her toilet, a maid holding up a mirror; a man, perhaps Kṛṣṇa looking through a window. Pricked for use as a stencil and darkened by use.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .164 × .210 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXXVI

17.3059. Half-length drawing of a girl, apparently drinking from a small cup; with nimbus. Probably a copy of a "portrait" of a Mughal princess of the seventeenth century.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur (or Delhi?), eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .163 × .211 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Type similar to C., *R. P.*, Pl. xx.

For obvious reasons — seclusion within the Zenana, etc. — there are but few portraits of Mughal princesses in existence, and those mostly of the nineteenth century. Delhi miniatures which are reproduced from drawings similar to this are for the most part fanciful. Cf. Goetz, *Indische historische Porträts*, Asia Major, 2, 1925, p. 231: "Die Bildnisse von Damen sind immer nur aus der Phantasie des Malers geboren."

CCCLXXXVII

17.3060. Princess in a park with friends, attendants and musicians. Copy of a seventeenth-century Mughal original.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .167 × .228 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCLXXXVIII

17.3062. A girl, seated.

Rājasthānī.

Dimensions, .037 × .071 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCLXXXIX

17.3063. Maid servant with a tray of scents, *sūrm*, etc. Tracing on thin European paper.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, twentieth century.

Dimensions, .207 × .267 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and paper as Nos. CCCLXIV, CCCXC (M. F. A. **17.3028, 17.3064**).

CCCXC

17.3064. Love scene, man and woman seated. Tracing.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, twentieth century.

Dimensions, .418 × .270 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as Nos. CCCLXIV, CCCLXXXIX (M. F. A. **17.3028, 17.3063**).

CCCXCI

17.3065. Woman seated with child. Thin European paper.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, twentieth century.

Dimensions, .140 × .171 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCXCII

17.3066. Three women bathing, in landscape. Cart, bulls and driver above, and a young man peering through the trees. Brush outline with beginnings of color.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .148 × .227 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. C., *R. P.*, pl. XIX. A rather common theme in Rājput painting, but I do not know what story it illustrates.

CCCXCIII

17.3069. Studies of eyes, similar in character to those of the large Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cartoons.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .164 × .208 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCXCIV

17.3080. Fragment showing left arm and both hands of a girl, the right hand holding gold enamelled scent spray. Part of a large painting on thick card.

Style of the large Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cartoons, Nos. CCXVI-XIX.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .110 × .400 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CVI.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

RAJPUT PAINTINGS

CCCXCIVA

17.3114. Horoscope of Mahārājā Ratan Siṅgh of Bikanīr, a scroll painting with text, on cotton.

Rājasthānī, dated Saṁvat 1895 = A.D. 1838.

Dimensions, .262 × 2.010 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Rough but vigorous drawing, in the style of the Rājput and Bengālī circular playing cards, and the Jagannātha paintings on cotton from Puri. Above is Gaṇesá, in a *mandir*, flanked by peacocks and fishes, then the beginning of the text with the Rājā's names, and astrological data, flanked by elephants and riders. Below this are astrological diagrams, including the signs of the zodiac, then more text, which is continued at the back. The Rājā's full style is Rājrājeśvara Narendra Siromaṇā Mahārājādhirājā Mahārājā Rājā Śrī Śrī Śrī Ratan Siṅgh Bahādur.

CCCXCIVB

17.1607. Clouds, lightning and circling cranes: part of seventeenth-century wall painting of old palace at Bikanīr (seventeenth century), copied by a Bikanīr painter in 1911. Tempera, varnished.

Dimensions, .337 × 1.131 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Published, C., *R. P.*, Pl. 8.

The elements of this decoration (billowy clouds, snaky red lightning, falling rain, and birds) occur in many Rājasthānī and Gujarātī paintings. The motif is evidently of great antiquity: it is found in almost identical form in the Hippokampenhohle at Ming Öi near Qyzyl (Grünwedel, A., *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Berlin, 1912, fig. 241), where it is doubtless of Indian origin. The decoration is described by Grünwedel (*loc. cit.*, p. 106) as "Highly conventionalized clouds with four red snakes (lightning) white flakes, evidently snow, falling from the clouds; two birds below." The snow flakes, however, are rain drops, and the birds evidently *cātakas* (Indian cuckoo, *Cuculus melanoleucus*), which, in Indian tradition are supposed to drink only drops of falling rain. In the Rājput painting the birds are cranes: recalling the "circling cranes" of the storm verses in Śūdraka's *Mṛcchikaṭikā*, Act. V.[1]

For an extreme reduction of the same motif see No. CLVIII of this Catalogue (M. F. A. **25.425**).

PLATE CVI.

2. PAHĀṚI, JAMŪ

CCCXCV

17.2565. Girl in a yellow *kurtā*, trousers and scarf, with a dog.

Pahāṛī, perhaps Jamū, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .116 × .148 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

[1] But a Kuṣāna railing pillar from Mathurā shows a crane drinking the drops of water wrung from a woman's wet hair.

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CCCXCVI

17.2566. Woman with bow and arrows and spear, wearing a turban, a blue transparent tunic (*kurtī*) and trousers, and standing on a small *chaukī*.

Pahāṛī, Nurpur (?) twentieth century.

Dimensions, .113 × .185 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CX.

CCCXCVII

17.2796. Man seated on a wooden *chaukī* under a tree stroking the heads of two cranes. Yellow ground.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .151 × .202 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XVII.

CCCXCVIII

17.2797. Lady at her toilet, standing on a metal *chaukī*, beside a flowering tree.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .123 × .196 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CVII.

CCCXCIX

17.2798. Lady at her toilet, wringing water from her hair. She is looking up at a bird perched on a cypress. Red ground, border cut away.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .119 × .224 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

For the motif cf. No. CCCC (M. F. A. **17.2799**) and C., *R. P.*, p. 47, no. 4.

Amongst the toilet scenes which are a favorite theme of Rājput painters, are many in which the heroine is represented bathing near a tank or river, with raised arms wringing the water from her heavy tresses.[1] The falling drops are often compared to a rain of pearls (C., *R. P.*, Pl. LXXIIA). The subject is often to be understood as representing the occasion of Kṛṣṇa's first glimpse of Rādhā (cf. Coomaraswamy and Sen, *Vidyāpati*, no. IX). The following Hindī verse further elucidates the characteristic similes implied in such pictures:

Eka same vṛṣabhāna-sutā sakhi seja hute uṭhi āṁgana āīṁ,
Jhine ki coli me deha lasẽ jamanā jala me jese caṁda ki jhāīṁ,
Sisa hute utari laṭa sūṁdara āna rahi kuca pẽ lapaṭānī āīṁ,
Gaṁga kahẽ guni caṁda ke biṁba sõ saṁbhū ko pujana nāgani āīṁ. Subha.

"Once on a time the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu (i. e. Rādhā) rose from her bed and came out on the terrace (to bathe), O *sakhī;*

[1] The motif also occurs on a Kuṣāna railing pillar from Mathurā, where a crane is represented drinking the falling drops and in a late Rājasthānī example in my possession.

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Her body shone through the shimmering bodice like the reflection of the moon in the waters of the Jamna,
The long locks hanging from her head in lovely wise curled back upon her breasts,
Whereat the river spake, 'There has come some serpent to worship Śiva in the shape of the fair moon's image.' "

For the comparison of the bosom to a Śiva liṅgam (Śambhu), cf. Coomaraswamy and Sen, *Vidyāpati*, nos. I, XVI, and XLI; and Goetz and Ilse-Munk, *Gedichte aus dem indischen Liebesmystik des Mittelälters*, 1925, p. 162.

So far as I know, in Rājput painting the motif has no other than a lyrical and erotic significance. The motif, however, has passed over to Arakan, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia at some unknown period, certainly before the eleventh century, and there it is universally understood in a Buddhist sense as representing the Earth goddess Vasundharā who replies to the Buddha's summons on the occasion of Māra's challenge: "My hair is soaked with water poured upon the Earth to ratify thy gifts, now I will squeeze it out." The legend, however, is uncanonical (*Pathamasambodhi*, quoted by Duroiselle, Ch., in Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep. 1921–22, pp. 144 ff.; see also Salmony, A., *Sculpture in Siam*, 1925, p. 35, and Coedès, G., in Mem. conç. l'Asie orientale, II, pp. 117–22).

PLATE CVII.

CCCC

17.2799. A lady wringing water from her hair after bathing. She stands on a small *chaukī* between two trees beside a stream. The breasts are raised above the general surface.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .154 × .210 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The ewer and basin are perhaps intended for *bidrī* ware rather than brass.

Cf. No. CCCXCIX (M. F. A. **17.2798**).

PLATE CVII.

CCCCI

17.2800. A lady's toilet. Having taken her bath, she is looking at herself in a ring mirror held on the forefinger of the left hand. Clothes in a basket, and comb lying on wall of lotus tank. A bird and tree to the right.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .212 × .225 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced, C., *R. P.*, Pl. XXXII b.

PLATE CVII.

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CCCCII

17.2801. A lady's toilet; she is standing on a *chaukī*, with four maids, regarding herself in the mirror which one of them holds up; another is drying her feet.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .170 × .203 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCIII

17.2802. Lady with a lute persuading a peacock to dance. Inscription in Ṭākrī characters. Red border.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .187 × .223 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The Hindī inscription, beginning *Lāṣata* or *Lākhata*, I cannot decipher.

CCCCIV

17.3117. Lady with two maids, one with *caurī* and garland, the other offering betel. Red border.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .212 × .204 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with *dohā* in illegible Ṭākrī characters.

CCCCV

17.3118. Lady standing on a *caukī* under a flowering tree, holding a spray, and smoking from a *hukka* held by a maidservant.

Jamū, seventeenth–early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .207 × .253 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Part of picture overlapping red border: portions of jewellery represented by inset beetle wing-cases.

Globular *hukka* base (seventeenth century?) apparently of the Bikanīr type, of leather with gesso decoration.

CCCCVI

25.532. A lady feeding two peacocks; behind her a maid with a fly-whisk. Illegible text in Ṭākrī characters.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .157 × .118 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

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RAJPUT PAINTINGS

3. Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, etc.

CCCCVII

17.2505. Woman, perhaps a courtesan, looking out of a window.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early ninteeenth century.

Dimensions, .102 × .190 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCVIII

17.2506. Sheet of four sketches of women, divided in four parts. Other sketches at back.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .222 × .281 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

(Whole sheet as mounted.)

CCCCIX

17.2507. Princess with a duenna, playing at ball in a garden.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .165 × .226 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *Śrī Rīraṇī Khīnu khelare ai:* meaning, perhaps, Śīrīn Rāṇī, and thus "Princess Śīrīn at play."

CCCCX

17.2509. Man and two women seated under a tree, one holding the man's hand. In red, over gray outline.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .142 × .214 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as No. CCCCXI in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2510**).

Color names indicated.

CCCCXI

17.2510. Man seated in foreground with goat; behind, a woman churning and a woman cooking.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .147 × .206 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand and series as No. CCCCX in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2509**).

CCCCXII

17.2511. Lady, with attendants, receiving narcissus flowers from a maid: two musicians.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .180 × .235 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Suggests a pavilion in a Kāśmīr garden.

Plate CX.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCCXIII

17.2494. The hero awaiting the heroine. Night scene.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .153 × .225 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Upper chamber: the hero on a bed, attendants with a fan and massaging his feet, another announcing the arrival of the girl. Courtyard: the girl with bent head, accompanied by an older companion crossing the yard (cf. C., *R. P.*, Pl. LXX, b). On the right musicians salaaming.

Recalls the Nala-Damayantī series, but inferior.

CCCCXIV

17.2536. Lady seated, listening to the duenna, who is doubtless acting as a messenger (*dutikā*).

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .218 × .278 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCXV

17.2537. Youth reclining, a maid fanning him; he catches the end of her veil (*celāñcala*) to draw it aside, which, however, she does not permit.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .154 × .200 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Black outline over red over grey wash line.

CCCCXVI

17.2504. Hero and heroine playing with a pomegranate on a terrace, with one attendant and a peacock. Partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .129 × .206 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCXVII

17.2503. Lovers in a garden with musicians and servants.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .160 × .213 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCXVIII

17.2501. Lovers kissing on a terrace.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .185 × .263 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCCXIX

17.2502. Lovers in a garden with attendants. Partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .180 × .218 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Probably by the master of the Nala-Damayantī series.

CCCCXX

17.2519. Lovers swinging, on a terrace before a fountain, gazing into each other's eyes: with seven maids.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .158 × .259 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCXXI

17.2603. Lady on a terrace at play with a peacock: in white and purple with a little gold.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .132 × .207 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CX.

CCCCXXII

15.82. Girl with a turban, holding the string of a whirligig (*cakarī*) and playing with a black deer.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .13 × .195 m. Ross Collection.

Cf. C., *R. P.*, Pls. 48A and 71A and pp. 52–53.

CCCCXXIII

17.2526. Girl seated on a *chaukī*, on a terrace, with a pet parrot Thin brush outline over white priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .152 × .209 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Almost a duplicate of No. CCCXIV (M. F. A. **17.2529**).

CCCCXXIV

17.2529. Girl seated on a *chaukī* on a terrace, with a pet parrot. Thin brush outline over yellow sketch.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .143 × .209 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Almost a duplicate of No. CCCCXIII (M. F. A. **17.2526** (same hand?)).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCCXXV

17.2528. A lady seeking to recover a green parrot which has escaped from its cage. Partly colored. With Hindī inscription.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .133 × .296 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription (quoted C., *R. P.*, p. 50).

Dohā: Jabatê bhāvana dvaividha, gae chāṛa mohu tīra,
Vega āyo tarasata hiyê, kīra nāha dvai pīra. 1.

"Since, O lord, he deceitfully went away and left me on this shore
Come quickly, O parrot, and do not hurt my troubled heart again."

CCCCXXVI

17.2449. Princess with attendants and a peacock in a garden: in upper right hand corner, a well. Red brush drawing over gray sketch.

Pāhaṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .361 × .244 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Color names inscribed.

PLATE CVIII.

CCCCXXVII

17.2501. Lovers embracing on a terrace, above a garden. Brush drawing, partly redrawn, on thinly primed paper.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .185 × .263 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCXXVIII

17.2662. Recto, lady seated in a garden, with a *sitār*. Verso, lady with a *tambura* and two peacocks dancing in the rain. Attributed to Molā Rām.

Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .136 × .208 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Fragmentary text in Nāgarī characters, recto; and a seal in Persian characters on back and front.

CCCCXXIX

17.2602. Lady on a terrace, with musicians and a maid carrying a *hukka*. A large flowering tree rising from the garden behind the terrace.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .136 × .182 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CIX.

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RAJPUT PAINTINGS

CCCCXXX

17.2530. Lady with a *sitār*, with deer, on terrace. Partly colored. Copy.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .156 × .207 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

See also Nos. CCCCXXXI, CCCCXXXII (M. F. A. **17.2531, 17.2532**).

CCCCXXXI

17.2531. Lady with a tame deer. Partly colored. Reverse with Hindī inscription.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .142 × .204 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

C., *R. P.*, p. 69.

Reverse with Hindī inscription (repeated):

Dohā: Ko chuṭayo ihi jāla parakīta kuraṁga akulāe

Jīhī tũ surajha bhajyo cahe tyõ urajhata jāe. 1.

"'Who can escape the snare (of this world), O bewildered deer,

The more you seek to disentangle yourself, the more you become entangled!'"

She compares her own situation to that of the deer which has fallen into the snare of the hunter; *parakīta = prakṛti*.

Cf. Nos. CCCCXXX, CCCCXXXII (M. F. A. **17.2530,17.2532**).

PLATE CII.

CCCCXXXII

17.2532. Lady with a *vīṇā*, pet deer, and partridges, on a terrace. Copy.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .143 × .199 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. C., *R. P.*, p. 59, and Pl. LXXI a. The deer attracted by music is like the soul entangled in *māyā*, a familiar simile. Cf. Nos. CCCCXXX, CCCCXXXI (M. F. A. **17.2530, 17.2531**).

CCCCXXXIII

17.2518. Obverse: a lady swinging, with a duenna and two maids. Reverse: a lady seated, with musicians and maids. Red outline over grey.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .160 × .220 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Color names indicated on both sides.

CCCCXXXIV

17.2521. Lady reclining on a bed, smoking, in a room: with numerous servants, and musicians. Partly colored. Reverse with four portraits of a man seated.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .298 × .220 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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CCCCXXXV

17.2522. Lady wrapped in a shawl, with an attendant carrying a box, which she refuses. Within, a woman tending a fire.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .143 × .208 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Probably by same hand as No. CCCCXLI in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2508**).

PLATE CX.

CCCCXXXVI

17.2523. Girl with a torch. The head redrawn in finer outline over white priming.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, about 1800.

Dimensions, .066 × .137 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCXXXVII

17.2524. Marriage ceremony and family gathering: many figures in groups.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .231 × .305 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCXXXVIII

17.2525. Lady with attendants in a courtyard, the attendants with a doll, garland, and lotus flowers. Reflections in the water.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .145 × .185 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Representations of reflections most unusual (Mughal influence).

CCCCXXXIX

17.2527. Girl seated on terrace, looking at herself in a ring mirror and placing *tīkā* on her brow. Partly colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .121 × .156 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand as Nos. CCCCXXIII, CCCCXXIV in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.2526, 17.2529**).

CCCCXL

17.2535. Lady on a terrace, smoking a *hukka:* with two maids. Partly colored.

Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .155 × .235 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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CCCCXLI

17.2508. Lady wrapped in a shawl, warming her hands at a brazier and smoking a *hukka*. Red border.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .140 × .198 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Possibly an illustration for "autumn" or "winter" from a *khat ṛtu* or *bāra māsa*, poems on the six seasons or twelve months.

CCCCXLII

17.2540. Lady seated in courtyard, with attendants, completing her toilet.

Dimensions .161 × .277 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Color names and indications of patterns given in great detail.

Color names: *supedā, supadā; nīlā; khākī; khākī halkā; saṁdhurī; cerā; cera lāl; cerā saṁdhurī halkā; badāmī, badamī; sunā; gulābī; saṁdīla; saṁgrapha; sosanī; sosānī hālkā; sarakhī; sojā halkā, savaj halkā, soja sīlu; lākadedī.*

Pattern names: *sunedā buṭā surakhīyā yā dīla baṁdī suṁdhuredī* (a continuous floral border of small flowers springing from a wavy stem, "gold ground with red flowers and leaves, on a red line"); *sune kane līkhī norajī halkā jaradī yā vala sunedī rīka* (a repeating floral border, "gold ground, dots drawn very light orange, edge gold"); *cādī baṁdaruma suṁrakhīyā kane līkheyā phula saṁdhuri hālkā ḍaṁḍi savaj pate savaj* (trellis with floral sprays, "silver ground, red lines, dot-drawn flowers light red, stems and leaves green"); *abarage* (*= āb-rang*) *kane līkheyā supedā* (cross-hatched trellis, "pale ground, dots drawn white"); *cerā saṁgarphadā hālkā* (indication of bricks on a wall, "red ground with pale red lines"); *cādī buṭā vasaṁti dīla surakha* (a cushion, "silver ground, yellow flowers, red *dīla*"); *sunā pate soj* (cushion, "green leaves on gold ground"); *soj cādī buṭā* (cloth, "silver flowers on green ground"); *badāmī baṁdī yā sojā* (carpet, "almond ground with green outlines"); *tākīyā dīyā kanarīyā suped* (window, cross-hatched "frame . . . ., bars white"); *rīkā surakhī sunedī malmal* (*dupaṭṭa*, "muslin with red and gold border").

The color of the ground is given first, then of the design upon it. In each case, *bandi, bandaruma* seems to mean the connecting or framing lines of the design: *kane*, from *kaṇa*, a grain or dot; I can make nothing of the words *dīla* and *rīka*. Most of the renderings are tentative.

PLATE CXI.

CCCCXLIII

17.2520. Lady with four maids, seated on a *chaukī* under a canopy. One of the maids is putting glass bangles on her wrists. A man watching from an upper window. Purple outline.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .158 × .189 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CVIII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCCXLIV

20.1618. Lady reclining on a couch on a terrace, smoking a *hukka*, and fanning herself, a maid offering her a cup of wine. Fully colored.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .195 × .250 m. Ross Collection.

CCCCXLV

17.2534. Morning toilet: a lady drying her hair after bathing, on a terrace by a river. Sunrise. Partly colored. Probably a tracing.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, oval, .141 × .202 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. Kramrisch, S., *Grundzüge der indischen Kunst*, pl. 43: and Nos. CCCXCIX–CCCCI in this Catalogue.

PLATE CVIII.

CCCCXLVI

17.2542. Above, a girl wringing water from her hair after her bath: below, two girls, one giving the other a drink of water.

Pahāṛī?, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .078 × .151 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCXLVII

17.2554. First leaf of a set of illustrations for a story not identified: paṇḍit reading to a prince in a pavilion; above, oval medallion of Gaṇeśa.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .288 × .221 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCXLVIII

17.2564. Two sketches in red. Recto, a lady applying *tilak* to her brow, with Hindī inscription: verso, a lady walking within an enclosure, wearing a turban, and smoking, with an attendant.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .135 × .177 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Color names inscribed.

Recto, Hindī text:

Kahata sabai baiṁdī dīe āṁku dasa gunau hota,
Tiya lilāṭa baiṁdī lagata, āgana taba ḍhita udota.

"Everyone says that when the brow-spot is applied, the beauty of the eyes is tenfold enhanced
When the woman applies the mark to her brow, then the (whole) courtyard is illumined."

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CCCCXLIX

17.2616. A girl swinging, under a mango tree in a garden. Unfinished.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .144 × .204 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. *Karpūra-mañjarī*, 11, 36:

"Her garments tossed, as 'gainst the wind she swings,
Reveal some glimpses of her lovely form,
Which calls to Love to nestle by her side."

and *Bhāṣā bhūṣaṇa*, dohā 549:

"Lo in the swing, like a hourī fallen from heaven!"

It is possible, but usually unlikely, that the swinging pictures (cf. *Hiṇḍola Rāgiṇī*), have a mystical significance: for as Kabīr writes, "Between the poles of the conscious and the unconscious, there has the mind made a swing."

PLATE CIX.

CCCCL

17.2626. Capture of a wild elephant. Landscape of wooded hills and water, with plantain groves: wild elephants bathing. Two tame elephants assisting in the roping of the wild one.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .226 × .298 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CXII.

CCCCLI

17.2629. Man, woman, and child, and an old woman, the man trying to make a fallen horse rise; the horse laden with household goods. Verso, with a man and a woman-headed lioness.

Pahāṛī or Pañjāb, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .283 × .212 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCLII

17.2647. Wild boar. Monochrome.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth or twentieth century.

Dimensions, .261 × .168 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCLIII

17.3093. A lady with attendants, seated in a pavilion, with landscape vista. The lady smoking, one of the attendants washing her feet. Mughal influence.

Dimensions, .181 × .257 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Color names inscribed:

asamenī; gulabī, gulābī; soj; suna; sot, svat.

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CCCCLIV

17.3095. A woman, standing. Grey, black, and red outline.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .080 × .163 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCLV

17.3097. Hunting scene: the sportsman's lunch, after hawking. Landscape.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .427 × .283 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCLVI

21.1764. Diagram of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, and its surroundings. Outline, partly colored.

Pañjāb, Amritsar, nineteenth century. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Dimensions, .414 × .381 m.

CCCCLVII

17.2627. Representation of a small town on both sides of a river bank. Houses, temples (*śikhara* cells) and watermills.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .331 × .225 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CXII.

CCCCLVIII

17.3119. Lithographed tract, viz. *Dilbahalāva*, Hindī in Nāgarī characters, 24 pp. The front page with a representation of seven women drawing water from a well, illustrating the first line of the text, and floral border.

Pañjāb, Meraṭ (Meerut), late nineteenth or twentieth century.

Dimensions, .169 × .250 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, C., *R. P.*, p. 76.

The *Dilbahalāva* or 'Heart's Entertainment' is a collection of *khyāls*, *ghazals*, etc., in Hindī and Ūrdū with one in Persian. The first and longest poem, by Devī (presumably No. 306 of Grierson, *Modern vernacular literature of Hindustan*, author of a *Sūr Sāgar* in comic style), is a humorous account of the troubles of seven young women whose husbands are addicted to drug-taking: the seven girls are drawing water at the well, and make their complaints in turn. The dialect is that of Meraṭ. The poem begins:

Sakhī sāta ghara ghara se calī, jala bharana kue para ānī

"Seven maidens leaving their houses, came to draw water from the well."

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The remaining poems include some quite modern productions, and some well-known songs of Tulsi Dās, Sūr Dās, Kabīr, etc., speaking of Rāma and Sītā, the Holī festival, etc. The last concludes:

Kina sukha pāyo rī sakhī, pardesī kī prīta

"For none can be happy, my dear, whose Beloved is in a far country."

PLATE CXII.

H. PORTRAITS

(1) RĀJASTHĀNĪ

Jodhpur Rājās

CCCCLIX

17.2920. Portrait of Rājā Mān Siṅgh of Jodhpur.

Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .204 × .251 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed: *Śrī Mhārājā Mān Sīgh-jī Jodhpur rāhta.*

CCCCLX

17.2921. Portrait of Rājā Rām Siṅgh (of Jodhpur?).

Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .230 × .307 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed: *Māhārājadhirāje Śrī Rām Singh-jī.*

PLATE CXVII.

CCCCLXI

17.2922. Equestrian portrait, a Rājā of Jodhpur, and *sais*. The horse splendidly caparisoned, the mane plaited and finished with long scarlet tassels.

Rājasthānī, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .192 × .298 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Illustrates the distinction of style from that of Mughal equestrian portraits. Cf. No. CCCCLXIV (M. F. A. **25.427**).

PLATE CXIV.

CCCCLXII

17.2935. Portrait of a Rājā of Jodhpur. Tracing, partly colored.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .090 ×.116 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscription in Nāgarī characters *Hal Siṅgh* (or *Rūp Siṅgh*) *Jodhpur kā.*

PLATE CXV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCCLXIII

17.2979. Portrait of a prince (of Jodhpur?) standing, with a rosary. Brush outline, redrawn over thin white priming.

Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .118 × .178 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCLXIV

25.427. Portrait of a seated Rājā Mahārājā Abhai Siṅgh-jī of Jodhpur (1781–1806), with three attendants, one pouring wine, on a terrace. Somewhat rubbed but of exceptional quality in draughtsmanship and color.

Rājasthānī, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .160 × .270 m. Harriet Otis Cruft Fund.

PLATE CXIII.

Jaipur Rājās

CCCCLXV

15.84. Portrait of a Rājput prince, probably Mādho Siṅgh Jaipur.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .115 × .168 m. Ross Collection.

Cf. Percy Brown, *Indian Painting*, Pl. 17, so-called Pṛthvī-rājā.

PLATE CXV.

CCCCLXVI

17.2938. Portrait of Śrī Mahārājā Mādho Sīnha-jī.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .159 × .195 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with the name, inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *Śrī Mhārājye Nādho Sirṁha-jī.*

PLATE CXV.

CCCCLXVII

17.2917. A Maharājā of Jaipur giving instructions to a secretary who holds a letter.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .190 × .212 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CXVII.

CCCCLXVIII

17.2930. Portrait of Rājā Jaimal (of Jaipur?) standing, holding a flower in left hand and with dagger (*kaṭāra*) in belt. Copy of older portrait?

Rājasthānī.

Dimensions, .111 × .175 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed: *Rājā Jāimal-jī.*

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CCCCLXIX

17.2980. Portrait of Savāī Jaisiṅgh of Jaipur (1693–1743) seated.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .106 × .146 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed in Nāgarī characters *Savaī Jasig-jī.*

CCCCLXX

25.210. Rājā Jagat Siṅgh of Jaipur, standing with a military officer before him. Name inscribed in Persian characters.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .220 × .286 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE CXVII.

CCCCLXXI

17.2934. Portrait of a prince, head only, probably Pratāp Siṅgh of Jaipur. Pricked for pouncing.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .205 × .285 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CXV.

CCCCLXXII

17.2939. Rājput prince (perhaps Pratāp Siṅgh of Jaipur), seated with bow and arrow, two courtiers before him.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .220 × .192 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian Drawings* 11, Pl. XIX.

PLATE CXX.

CCCCLXXIII

17.2940. Portrait of a Rājput prince probably Pratāp Siṅgh of Jaipur, like No. CCCCLXXIV, (M. F. A. **25.522**) standing, with sword. Partly colored.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .117 × .187 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with other figures, pricked for pouncing; one has been so used.

CCCCLXXIV

25.522. Portrait of Pratāp Siṅgh (1778–1803 A. D.) of Jaipur, standing, nimbate, girt with sword and shield, in white *jāma'* with long skirt, gay turban.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .151 × .204 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters:

Pratāp Syṅgh-jī mārāj (mahārājā) Jaypar (Jaipur)

PLATE CXVI.

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Other named Rājās

CCCCLXXV

15.37. Equestrian portrait: hunting scene, showing a nobleman on a rearing black horse, proceeding with many armed attendants.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur?, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .295 × .430 m. Ross Collection.

Names pasted at back in Nāgarī characters, presumably detached from original picture when remounted:

Śrī Mahārājadhirāja Śrī Rāī Singh (?)*-jī jū* (the principal figure), *Śri Dīmān Sāṁvathī Siṁgh-jū* (the second rider), *Śri Dimān Khet Sigh-jū* (third rider) and *Thoraulakhi* (?), (an attendant).

CCCCLXXVI

17.2923. Equestrian portrait of a Rājā. Partly colored.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .183 × .273 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters, apparently: *Rāṇā Javāja Sīngh-jī Rīchavī.*

CCCCLXXVII

17.2932. Portrait of a prince, apparently Rāṇā Khumāna Siṁgh.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .130 × .165 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Original sketch pricked for pouncing.

Inscription in Nāgarī characters apparently:

Khumāṇa Sīg Rāṇī.

CCCCLXXVIII

17.2936. Portrait of Rāṇa Bhagavant Siṁgh of Dholpur, seated.

Rājasthānī, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .155 × .117 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with name, as above, inscribed in Nāgarī characters.

CCCCLXXIX

17.2937. Portrait of Rājā Maṇa Pāl of Karolī seated, smoking. Brush outline over white priming.

Rājasthānī, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .074 × .102 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with the name, inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *Kārolī kī rājā Mana Pāl-jī taswīr.*

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CCCCLXXX

17.2962. Portrait of Rām Siṅgh, Rājā of Ámer, standing.
Rājasthānī, nineteenth century (copy of seventeenth-century Mughal).
Dimensions, .143 × .187 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Inscription in Nāgarī characters: *Rāma Syaṅha-jī Rājā Āmer kā.*
By same hand as No. CCCCLXXXIV (M. F. A. **17.3008**).

CCCCLXXXI

17.2963. Portrait of Mahārājā Viṣṇu Siṅgh. Tracing on skin (copy of a Mughal work?).
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .077 × .115 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCLXXXII

17.2970. Portrait of a Raṭhor prince, seated. Partly colored.
Rājasthānī, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .088 × .111 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Superscribed in Nāgarī characters *Raṭurā Mārvā kā.*

CCCCLXXXIII

17.2986. Portrait of Mahārājā Amar Siṅgh.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .098 × .206 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *Amar Syaṅgh Māhārajā.*
PLATE CXIX.

CCCCLXXXIV

17.3008. Portrait of Rājā Umed Siṅgh of Sahaiyapur with a staff, standing.
Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .154 × .198 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Inscribed reverse: *Rājā Umed Syaṅha Sahaiyapur kā.*
By same hand as No. CCCCLXXX (M. F. A. **17.2962**).

CCCCLXXXV

25.523. Portrait of Mālrāo Umed Siṅgh and Jālam Siṅgh. Both seated, the former, nimbate, addressing the latter who is evidently a military officer. Fully colored.
Rājasthānī (southern?), late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .172 × .247 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.
Verso with Nāgarī text: *Mālrāv-jī Umed*
Si(ṅ)gh-jī Rāja Jālam Si(ṅ)gh-jī ki tasvīr
PLATE CXVI.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CCCCLXXXVI

25.535. Portrait of Rāvat Jasvant Siṅgh of Deogaṛh, standing, in white *jāma'* with long skirt, *kaṭāra* in belt and rosary in right hand.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .188 × .292 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Superscribed on the picture in Persian characters: *Rāvat Jasvant Singh Daūngar cūkī*(?); on the mount: *Rāvat Jasvant Sī(n)gh-jī Deogaṛh kā*, and verso: *Rāvat-jī Śrī Jasva(n)t Sy[ṅ]gh-jī Deogaṛh cukāvat* (?)

Rāvat is the style of the great nobles of Mewāṛ of the Condāvat family of the Sīsodia Rājputs who are lords of Deogaṛh, 70 miles north of Udaipur, and part of Udaipur state. Deogaṛh is an important centre of the cult of Śrī Nātha-jī (see Nos. CCXX–CCXXII, of the Catalogue).

PLATE CXVI.

CCCCLXXXVII

26.4. Portrait of Rājā Bagat Siṅgh of Rīsab. Fully colored.

Rājasthānī, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .113 × .166 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Superscribed in Nāgarī characters:

Rājā Bagat Sīgh-jī Rīsabī.

PLATE CXVI.

Mughal Pādshāhs, etc.

CCCCLXXXVIII

17.2676. Portrait of Nādir Shāh. Tracing on skin, after the well-known Mughal type.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .075 × .148 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCLXXXIX

17.2743. Portraits of Shāh Jahān and Mahābat Khān. Partly colored. Copy of seventeenth-century Mughal.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .167 × .247 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscriptions reading *Śrī Pātsāh Sāh Jahān* (= Śrī Pādshāh Shāh Jahān) and *Baṛā Mahabat Khān.*

The figures bear some resemblance to representations of these men in authentic Mughal works.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCCXC

17.2995. Large head of a Musalmān, brush outline.

Rājasthānī, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .194 × .201 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCXCI

17.3003. Portrait of Nādir Shāh, enthroned, with sword. Inferior copy of a late Mughal original.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .102 × .137 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed reverse in Nāgarī characters: *Nādar Śāh.*

CCCCXCII

17.3010. Mullah do Piyāza, equestrian portrait caricature. Also a camel.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur (?), eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .200 × .148 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Copy of the earlier Mughal original, of which a contemporary tracing is reproduced; Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian Drawings*, I, Pl. I.

CCCCXCIII

17.3011. Portrait of a man standing, probably Akbar, with bow and arrow: two other men seated with fingers interlaced in affection. All copies of Mughal paintings of the time of Akbar. Brush outline.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .098 × .162 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Akbar wears the characteristic *jāma'* with pointed skirt.

Sādhus, etc.

CCCCXCIV

15.88. Portrait of a *sādhu*, seated in archway, with *go-mukha* on right hand, repeating *mantrams.*

Rājasthānī, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .115 × .16 m. Ross Collection.

CCCCXCV

17.2955. Portrait of a priest seated reading: MS. in handkerchief at side.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .094 × .096 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCCXCVI

17.2959. Portrait of Dīkhat of the cult of Śrī Gopinātha.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .118 × .186 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Superscribed in Nāgarī characters: *Dīkhat-jī Śrī Gopīnātha-jī kā.*

CCCCXCVII

17.2960. Portrait of a priest seated, performing *pūjā.* Pricked for use as a stencil.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .108 × .135 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CCCCXCVIII

17.2965. Portrait of a Śaiva priest, offering lights (*āratī*).
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .115 × .188 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
PLATE CXVIII.

CCCCXCIX

17.2973. Portrait of a Gosāīn (Vaiṣṇava priest of the Vallabhācārya sect), seated on a *gaddi,* holding a *go-mukha* (glove for telling beads) in right hand.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .088 × .126 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Superscribed in red Nāgarī characters *Gusāī.*

Other persons named

D

17.2929. Portrait of a man standing.
Rajāsthānī, Jaipur, early eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .122 × .198 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Superscribed in Nāgarī characters: *Khawās-Śrī Sīyā-Rām-jī Copī.*
Perhaps by same hand as Nos. DVIII, DLXXIX, DLXXXI (M. F. A. **17.2982, 17.3023, 17.3025**).
For the turbans, cf. Hendley, T. H., *Indian Jewellery,* Journal of Indian Art, XII, 1909, p. 96.
PLATE CXVIII.

DI

17.2941. Portrait of Jagat Siṅgh-jī Cerahī . . .
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .118 × .184 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Superscribed with the name, as above, in Nāgarī characters. Cf. No. D (M. F. A. **17.2929,** etc.).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DII

17.2944. Portrait of Jasondhi Ṭek Caṁd: seated with sword and shield. Partly colored.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth or twentieth century.

Dimensions, .106 × .121 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed reverse with the name, as above, in bold Nāgarī characters, *Jasoṁdhī Ṭek Caṁd.*

Practically a duplicate of No. DLVI (M. F. A. **17.2991**).

DIII

17.2951. Portrait of Bāpāmal Seṭh standing, with flower in left hand.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .062 × .130 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed with the name, as above, in Nāgarī characters.

DIV

17.2958. Portrait of a man seated, speaking. Brush outline.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .083 × .145 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscription in Nāgarī characters apparently *Bhaṭasadāsī kī.*

DV

17.2966. Portrait of *Anuradha Siṅha Khaṅgārot,* a dwarfish man, standing. Partly colored and pricked for pouncing.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .119 × .137 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed with the name, as above, in Nāgarī characters.

DVI

17.2974. Portrait of a man standing.

Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .120 × .160 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed in Nāgarī characters, *Akhro-jī Dikhaṇī?*

DVII

17.2975. Portrait of a youth, seated.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .106 × .131 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed reverse in Nāgarī characters, apparently *Kaṁthakatuṁlā.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DVIII

17.2982. Portrait of a stout man, Manā Lāl-jī, Darāgo (?=Darogā), standing to right, as if speaking.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .092 × .147 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters:

Manā Lāl jī Darāgo naṭi Sarupa Canda Darāga kī bādī,

"Conversation of the actor Manā Lāl with Sarup Cand." The latter is not shown.

PLATE CXVIII.

DIX

17.2388. Portrait, inscribed in Nāgarī characters, Saṁja Dakhaṇī: tracing from a Mughal original?

Rājasthānī, eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .073 × .165 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DX

17.2992. Portrait of Sāhīb Rām, painter. Shows the painter at work, sketching on a wooden panel.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .088 × .123 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters *Sāhīb Rāmaḥ Caterī.*

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian Drawings*, II, Pl. XX, 3.

DXI

17.3021. Portrait of a man standing, with shield held over the left shoulder. Tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .098 × .131 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *Samaratha Sīṅgh.*

DXII

17.3068. Portrait of Bhagavān Dās-jī Rājā Lavāṇ kā. Tracing on European tissue paper.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, twentieth century.

Dimensions, .210 × .114 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed reverse in Nāgarī characters with the name as above.

Lavāṇ is perhaps Lāwa near Tonk.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Europeans

DXIII

17.2999. Two portraits of Europeans mounted together, one representing Lord Metcalfe. In European costumes. Partly colored.

Rājasthānī, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, *a*, .086 × .135 m.; *b*, .106 × .158 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

One of the portraits is inscribed in Nāgarī characters *Maṭkalb* (= Lord Metcalfe). Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe was Governor General of India, 1835–37. For a list of other Indian Portraits of Europeans see p. 19.

PLATE CXX.

Others not named

DXIV

15.35. Rājā seated in a garden with seven female attendants, entertained by dancers with the usual chorus. The garden is laid out in square beds filled with poppies with a fountain in the centre. Fully and gaily colored. Remounted.

Rājasthānī, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .397 × .290 m. Ross Collection.

DXV

15.90. Two strips of paper mounted together, with fifteen well-drawn portrait heads.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .135 × .12 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE CXIX.

DXVI

15.109. Portrait of soldier standing with sword and shield. Partly colored.

Rajāsthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .099 × .145 m. Ross Collection.

DXVII

17.2387. Portrait, a man standing, copied from a Mughal original of the late seventeenth century. Tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .09 × .163 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXVIII

17.2606. Portrait of a man seated smoking. Tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .156 × .198 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DXIX

17.2924. Equestrian portrait of a boy, with spear, sword, and shield.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .150 × .158 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXX

17.2925. Equestrian portrait.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .168 × .180 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXI

17.2926. Equestrian portrait. Pricked for use as a stencil.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .163 × .225 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXII

17.2927. Equestrian portrait of a youth, with several sketches of the same head, as well as that of a bearded man.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .193 × .146 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
PLATE CXXX.

DXXIII

17.2928. Equestrian portrait.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .209 × .217 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXIV

17.2931. Portrait of a prince (of Jaipur?), standing, with a long sword. Brush outline.
Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .105 × .149 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXV

17.2933. Portrait of a Rājput Prince.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth or twentieth century.
Dimensions, .189 × .267 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXVI

17.2942. Portrait of a man standing.
Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .086 × .187 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DXXVII

17.2943. Portrait of a man seated.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .087 × .111 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXVIII

17.2945. Portrait of a man seated. The first drawing entirely obscured by the white priming.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .121 × .091 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXIX

17.2946. Portrait of a man seated, with orange turban.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .083 × .189 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXX

17.2947. Portrait of a man seated. Reverse with portrait head.
Rājasthānī, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .077 × .203 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXXI

17.2948. Four portraits of one individual and one of another.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .158 × .104 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
PLATE CXIX.

DXXXII

17.2949. Portrait of a man standing. Brush outline.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .120 × .177 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXXIII

17.2950. Portrait of a man kneeling. Pouncing, the head and turban colored.
Jaipur, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .090 × .140 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXXIV

17.2952. Portrait of a youth seated, partly colored.
Rājasthānī, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .091 × .062 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DXXXV

17.2953. Portrait of a youth with three keys: fine brush outline, incomplete, over thick white priming.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .083 × .140 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXXVI

17.2954. Portrait of a man standing.

Rājasthānī, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .069 × .110 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXXVII

17.2956. Portrait of a child.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .073 × .098 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXXVIII

17.2957. A man standing.

Dimensions, .087 × .165 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXXXIX

17.2961. Portrait of a man kneeling, with dagger (*kaṭāra*) in belt. Tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .072 × .115 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed with name in Nāgarī characters. The picture is mounted back to front reversing the lettering, which is not, however, legible even in a mirror.

DXL

17.2964. Portrait of a stout man with a staff.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .112 × .175 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Probably copied from a Mughal work.

DXLI

17.2967. Portrait of a man standing.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .083 × .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DXLII

17.2968. Portrait, probably of a Gujarātī merchant. Brush outline heightened with gold.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .106 × .146 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Costume: *dhotī, chapkān, dupaṭṭā, kamarband, pāga.*

DXLIII

17.2969. Portrait of a man gesticulating. Partly colored.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .084 × .131 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXLIV

17.2971. Portrait of a man standing: redrawn in fine brush outline over white priming.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .083 × .145 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXLV

17.2972. Portrait of a man seated among cushions, smoking.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .051 × .083 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXLVI

17.2976. Portrait of a youth with a shield, seated. Reverse with portrait of a man. Delicate brush outline.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .119 × .150 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXLVII

17.2977. Portrait of a young prince, with sword and flower. Delicate brush drawing over thick white priming.

Rājasthānī, early eighteenth (?) century.

Dimensions, .132 × .169 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CXVIII.

DXLVIII

17.2978. Portrait of a man with a bird cage (?). Fine brush outline over white priming.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .108 × .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DXLIX

17.2981. Portrait of a man. Brush outline.
Jaipur, Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .117 × .164 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DL

17.2983. Portrait of a young man. Outline brush drawing, with colored turban.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .072 × .146 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLI

17.2984. Portrait of a man with a rosary. Brush outline.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .095 × .158 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLII

17.2985. Portrait of a man, brush outline with colored turban. A pouncing, partly drawn in.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .084 × .165 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLIII

17.2987. Portrait of a man with a wizened face, seated.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Superscribed and inscribed reverse in Nāgarī characters.

DLIV

17.2988. Portrait of a man standing, with bow and arrow. Brush outline, partly colored.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .061 × .127 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLV

17.2989. Portrait of a man standing. Brush outline with some color.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .115 × .176 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLVI

17.2991. Portrait of a man seated with sword and shield: colored.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .092 × .114 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Practically a duplicate of No. DII (M. F. A. **17.2944**).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DLVII

17.2993. Equestrian portrait of man with a lance, the lance pointed at each end.
Rājasthānī, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .254 × .175 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLVIII

17.2994. Equestrian portrait.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .140 × .175 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLIX

17.2996. Three musicians seated, one with *tambura*, one clapping, one with drum.
Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .165 × .113 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLX

17.2997. Three musicians, the central figure with a *tambura*, singing.
Rājasthānī, early nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .155 × .095 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Reproduced, *Indian Drawings* II.

DLXI

17.2998. Portraits of three courtiers standing side by side.
Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .153 × .127 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXII

17.3000. Portrait of a man seated, with sword, bow and arrows, and rifle. Reverse with same in outline.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .144 × .206 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
On European paper. Perhaps from Bundi or Udaipur.

DLXIII

17.3001. Two tracings, portraits of seated men, on one sheet; tracing on skin, perhaps from photographs.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth or twentieth century.
Dimensions, .180 × .120 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
See *Indian Drawings* II, p. 28.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DLXIV

17.3002. Portrait of a man standing.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .090 × .148 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXV

17.3004. Portrait of a man standing: brush outline. Also pricked with another portrait for use as stencil.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .146 × .225 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXVI

17.3005. Portrait of a man standing, holding a letter.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .056 × .142 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Superscribed in Nāgarī characters, apparently *Kānerām-jī*.

DLXVII

17.3006. Portrait of a prince.
Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .074 × .118 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXVIII

17.3007. Portrait of a stout man standing. Delicate brush outline over white priming.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .096 × .144 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXIX

17.3009. Fourteen men on horseback.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .189 × .143 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXX

17.3012. Portrait of a scribe, seated.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .080 × .092 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Inscribed reverse in Nāgarī characters with name, *Miā(n) Rāmanārāyaṇa.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DLXXI

17.3013. Portraits of a man: also a *mānanī*, and a seated figure, on two pieces, originally part of one sheet.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .2 × .11 m. and .2 × .073 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXXII

17.3014. A man, perhaps a scribe or artist, seated on a *caukī*. Tracing on European paper, pricked for use as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, twentieth century.

Dimensions, .172 × .104 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXXIII

17.3015. Head of a man: brush sketch.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .09 × .13 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXXIV

17.3016. Portrait of a man wearing a *dhotī* and a flowered *cādar*.

Rājasthānī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .072 × .139 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXXV

17.3017. Portrait of a man seated: brush outline over white priming, heightened with yellow for gold.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .097 × .161 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed reverse in Nāgarī characters: *Bhaṭa Rājā Aṁbar dātvī kā guru.*

DLXXVI

17.3018. Sketches on paper. A servant placing charcoal in the cup of a *hukka*, and a portrait of the same individual, full face. Also a woman and child riding on a bear, and the compound letter *Śrī* in Nāgarī characters.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .096 × .126 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXXVII

17.3020. Portrait of a man standing. Tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .148 × .083 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DLXXVIII

17.3022. Portrait of a man standing, with two other busts and two heads on same sheet. Tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .125 × .148 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXXIX

17.3023. Portrait of a man standing. Tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .090 × .147 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Identical with the seated figure in No. DLXXXI (M. F. A. **17.3025**), by the same hand.

The name superscribed in Persian characters. The name is the same in both cases, but I cannot decipher it.

DLXXX

17.3024. Portrait of a man seated. Tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .067 × .089 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXXXI

17.3025. Official standing with a letter, and a prince seated reading a letter. Tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .121 × .115 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Names inscribed in Persian characters, standing figure *Lāl Har Narāīn;* seated figure, illegible.

Cf. Nos. D and DLXXIX (M. F. A. **17.2929** and **17.3023**), probably by the same hand.

DLXXXII

17.3026. Portrait of a man seated smoking. Tracing on skin.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .091 × .108 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXXXIII

17.3027. Portrait of a man standing. Tracing, from an older Mughal original, on European tissue paper.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, twentieth century.

Dimensions, .104 × .124 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed reverse in Nāgarī characters with the name *Kīrata Siha-jī Rājā Kāmā kā.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DLXXXIV

17.3028. Man on a running elephant. Tracing on European tissue paper.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, twentieth century.
Dimensions, .274 × .210 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXXXV

17.2606. Portrait of a man seated smoking: also the *hukka*, drawn separately.
Dimensions, .156 × .198 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DLXXXVI

17.3047. Portrait of a woman seated. Fine brush outline redrawn over white priming: partly colored.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .088 × .106 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

2. Pahāṛī, Jamū *

DLXXXVII

17.2759. Portrait of a hill rājā, in a white flowered coat and plumed turban, with a polo stick.
Pahāṛī, Jamū, seventeenth century.
Dimensions, .140 × .209 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Plate CXXI.

DLXXXVIII

17.2760. Portrait of Rājā Hataf Bandrāl, seated, with sword in hand.
Pañjāb, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, 1.145 × .208 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Reproduced, C., *R. P.*, Pl. xxxiva and p. 20.
I have not been able to identify this rājā. As suggested in C., *R. P.*, p. 20, he may have been one of the (Musalmān) rulers of Behandrāltā whose capital was at Rasūlgash, later Rāmnagar, near Gujranvālā in the Pañjāb. The portrait exhibits the backward sloping forehead characteristic of many of the Jamū and Cambā portraits, and the elegance of costume affected by the hill rājās. It is only in Pahāṛī portraits of this type that we find fresh flowers worn in the turban — a custom still prevailing in Kuḷu.
Plate CXXI.

* Only those in Jamū style are included here. Other and named Jamū rājās, in Kāṅgṛā or Sikh style are listed below.

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DLXXXIX

17.2761. Portrait of a hill rājā.

Jamū, seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .175 × .178 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXC

17.2762. Portrait of a rājā, seated on an embroidered carpet on a *dari*, smoking from a round porcelain *hukka;* attendant with peacock fly-whisk. Strong color.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, late seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .227 × .189 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CXXII.

3. PAHĀṚĪ: KĀṄGṚĀ; AND PAÑJĀB *

Jamū Rājās

DXCI

15.55. Portrait of Sucet Siṅgh of Jamū, seated on a terrace, in a garden, with one attendant, addressing an official. Fully colored, with pink border.

Pahāṛī, Kaṅgṛā (Sikh). Dated Saṁvat 1896 = A.D. 1839.

Dimensions, .124 × .290 m. Ross Collection.

Inscription in provincial Nāgarī characters approaching Ṭākrī, apparently reading:

Jaṁyāla rājā sru cet siha īha cītra najar kītā catere prāge saṁ(vat) 1896 *hāpra* 8.

"This picture of Śrī Cet Singh, Rājā of Jamū, was offered as *Nazar* by the painter (or, made by the painter Nazarkīt) in Saṁvat 1896."

PLATE CXXIII.

DXCII

15.56. Equestrian portrait of two Sikh princes of Jamū.

Pahāṛī, late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .155 × .21 m. Ross Collection.

Inscription at back in Persian characters:

Shabih Mālik Munā Rām Dhyān Siṅgh-ji Rāmakālī Bāzar and

Rāja Hīra Siṅgh-ju Jamuāla.

DXCIII

17.2720. Portrait of Jet Siṅgh, seated. Partly colored.

Pahāṛī, twentieth century.

Dimensions, .195 × .218 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

* Jamū portraits in Kāṅgṛā or Sikh style are included here. The Sikh style, of Pahāṛī origin, probably developed in the Pañjāb at the end of the eighteenth century, and spread over the hills after 1824: see Introduction, p. 17.

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Inscribed reverse in Nāgarī characters:

Jet Sīha Jamu nātaṭa kā Gujara.

Probably Rājā Jīt Siṅgh of Jamū, acc. ca. 1796. A Jīt Siṅgh of Cambā, 1794–1808 is also known.

DXCIV

17.2724. Portrait of Abhaya Rājā Siṅgh of Jamū.

Pahāṛī, Jamū, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .157 × .241 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in Ṭākrī characters:

Śrī Abhe Rāja Siṅgh. Jamoāla.

DXCV

Kaṭoch Rājās of Kāṅgṛā[1]

17.2386. Portrait, probably Rājā Saṁsār Cand of Kāṅgṛā, see No. DXCVI, below.

Pahārī, Kāṅgṛā, eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .146 × .168 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. Nos. DXCVI, DXCVII (M. F. A. **17.2702, 17.2739**).

DXCVI

17.2702. Rājā Saṁsār Cand Kaṭoch of Kāṅgṛā. Seated on a painted stool of Sikh type.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, Sikh style, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .159 × .218 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Rājā Saṁsār Cand Kaṭoch (Griffin, *Rājās of the Panjab*, p. 582) was a powerful hill chieftain who invaded Maṇḍi in 1779 and kept the Rājā of Maṇḍi prisoner in Kāṅgṛā for twelve years: he was a constant patron of painters of the Pahāṛī school commonly called of the Kāṅgṛā school, from the name of the leading Pañjāb Pahāṛī state. Moorcroft (*Travels*, London, 1841, vol. I, p. 145) remarks: "Sansār Chand is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ; he has a large collection of pictures." See also Introduction, *supra*, pp. 9 ff.

No. DXIII in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chambā, is stated to be a good portrait of the Rājā (Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba*, Calcutta, 1909, p. 30). The Rājā was described by Moorcroft (*loc. cit.*, p. 126) as a tall, well-formed man of dark complexion, but fine and expressive features. He reigned for some forty-five years and died in 1824. His son Anirudh Cand Kaṭoch was the last ruling Rājā of Kāṅgṛā (1824–1828). In the latter year the Pañjāb Sikh Raṅjīt Singh annexed Kāṅgṛā, and from this time to the end of the century may be dated most of the Pahāṛī paintings in Sikh style. Another portrait is reproduced in Ujfalvy, *Aus dem westlichen Himalaya*, Leipzig, 1884, fig. 29.

PLATE CXXIII.

[1] For other Kaṭoch rājās see Nos. DCI and DCIV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DXCVII

17.2739. Portrait, perhaps Rājā Saṁsāra Cand of Kāṅgṛā.

Pahāṛī, eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .192 × .171 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DXCVIII

25.530. Śrī Rāe Teg Cand and Śrī Rājā Ghamaṇḍ Cand seated conversing, the latter smoking, a hawk between them. Pale colors. The names as above inscribed in Nāgarī characters.

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .183 × .256 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Ghamaṇḍ Cand Kaṭoch of Kāṅgṛā, was made governor of the Jālandhar Doāb by Aḥmad Shah Durāni in 1758, and in 1770 he became tributary to the Sikhs (Kāṅgṛā Gazetteer 1904, p. 33 and Vogel, J. Ph., *Cat. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chambā*, 1909, p. 29, referring to another portrait of Ghamaṇḍ Cand).

Rājās of Suket, Guler, Maṇḍi, Paṭyāla, etc.

DXCIX

17.2707. Portrait of Śrī Rājā Govardhan Cand. Fully colored, with narrow black border.

Pahāṛī, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .134 × .190 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reverse with name inscribed in Nāgarī characters.

DC

15.59. Equestrian portrait of Rājā Balbīr Siṅgh.

Pahāṛī, Sikh, late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .152 × .235 m. Ross Collection.

The name as above subscribed in Persian characters. Perhaps Rājā Bīr Siṅgh, the last ruling Rājā of Nūrpur.

DCI

17.2700. Portrait of Rājā Prakāś Cand of Guler. The rājā seated on an embroidered carpet, smoking, with attendant with fly-whisk.

Pahāṛī, Guler, in Sikh style, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .147 × .190 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed verso, in neat Nāgarī characters: *Śrī Rājā Prakāś Cand Gulere.*

One of the Kaṭoch rājās of Guler, one of the smaller Rājput hill states not far from Kāṅgṛā. He was in friendly alliance with Rājā Saṁsār Cand of Kāṅgṛā in 1780.

PLATE CXXIII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DCII

17.2709. Rājā Vīkrama Sena of Sukhet: in a white robe, smoking *hukka*, with a servant.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .191 × .233 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in Nāgarī characters: *Sukhetau Rāja Vīkrama Seṇa.*

Another portrait is in the Bhūri Siṅgh Museum, Cambā (Cat. No. DXVI).

DCIII

17.2721. Portrait of Mahārājā Sītha Saina of Maṇḍī.

Pahāṛī, about 1900.

Dimensions, .168 × .216 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Text of inscription: *Śrī Mārājā Śrī Sītha Saina Ma[ṇ]dīyādā.*

Same hand and paper as No. DCIV (M. F. A. **17.2722**).

DCIV

17.2722. Portrait of Gopāla Siṅgh of Guler.

Pahāṛī, about 1900.

Dimensions, .166 × .210 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription at back: *Śrī Miāṁ Gopala Sīēgh Guleradā.*

Same hand and paper as No. DCIII (M. F. A. **17.2721**).

DCV

17.2728. Portrait of Śrī Amar Siṅgh of Paṭyāla. Seated with bow and arrow. Partly colored.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .164 × .256 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Superscribed in Nāgarī characters:

Śrī Amar Sī[ṅ]gh Rājā Paṭyāledā.

Probably a copy of an older picture of the Amar Siṅgh who ruled in Paṭyāla 1765–1781 and made Paṭyāla the most powerful state between the Jamna and the Satlaj. See Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Panjab*, 1873.

DCVI

17.2621. Portrait of a young man, kneeling with a shield (*ḍhāl*).

Pahāṛī, Kaṅgṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .064 × .077 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced *Indian Drawings* I, Pl. XIII.

PLATE CXXII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DCVII

17.2699. Equestrian portrait of a Sikh. Color names inscribed and indicated by touches of color.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .210 × .275 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCVIII

17.2701. Portrait of a young man, armed. Partly colored.

Pahārī, Sikh style, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .159 × .275 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCIX

17.2703. Portrait of a man, seated, smoking. Over white priming: partly colored.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .093 × .120 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscribed in Nāgarī characters: *Magukaṁge ho.*

DCX

17.2704. Portrait of a Sikh soldier with sword and shield.

Pahāṛī, Sikh, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .086 × .113 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXI

17.2705, a and b. Two portraits of the same individual, by the same hand. Red shawl and turban.

Pahāṛī, about 1900.

Dimensions, .053 × .079 m. and .083 × .118 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXII

17.2706. Portrait of a man seated, with red turban and scarf.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .105 × .153 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXIII

17.2708. Assembly of Sikhs.

Panjab or Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .215 × .285 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced, C.,*R. P.*, Pl. LXXVI.

PLATE CXXIV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DCXIV

17.2710. Portrait of a bearded man seated on a bed, smoking.
Pahāṛī, Sikh, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .143 × .125 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXV

17.2711. Portrait of a man seated: another at back. Partly colored.
Pañjāb or Pahāṛī, Sikh, twentieth century.
Dimensions, .118 × .134 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXVI

17.2712. Portrait of a man standing.
Pahāṛī, about 1900.
Dimensions, .074 × .129 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXVII

17.2713. Portrait of a man seated, partly colored.
Panjab or Pahāṛī, Sikh, late nineteenth or twentieth century.
Dimensions, .082 × .120 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXVIII

17.2714. Portrait of a Sikh, perhaps Mahārājā Rañjīt Siṅgh seated, in slate grey robe, with a sword.
Pañjāb, Sikh, late nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .111 × .135 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
PLATE CXXV.

DCXIX

17.2715. Portrait of a Sikh rājā, seated: white robe and red trousers.
Pañjāb or Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .115 × .151 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
PLATE CXXIII.

DCXX

17.2716. Portrait of a man seated, in a yellow shawl.
Amritsar, late nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .080 × .115 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXXI

17.2717. Portrait head of a man, in a yellow turban: over white priming.
Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .046 × .065 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DCXXII

17.2718. Portrait of a young man; partly colored.

Pahāṛī, late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .184 × .122 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXXIII

17.2719. Portrait of a man (Amar Singh) seated, smoking.

Pahāṛī, late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .155 × .215 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The name superscribed in Persian characters.

DCXXIV

17.2725. Portrait of a man seated, smoking, a panel in his hand: perhaps a painter. Partly colored. The name subscribed in Cambā Ṭākrī characters.

Pahārī, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .121 × .202 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The Ṭākrī text apparently: *Mauku catarevala uraṁda.*

Catarevala probably = picture maker.

Reverse with Hindī text in Nāgarī characters (unconnected with the drawing).

DCXXV

17.2726. Portrait of a Pahāṛī Rājā, not identified. Seated, with red turban. Partly colored.

Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .122 × .162 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXXVI

17.2727. Portrait of Śrī Rājā Rājā Sinha. Partly colored.

Pahāṛī, about 1900.

Dimensions, .141 × .199 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXXVII

17.2730. Equestrian portrait, red outline and wash.

Pahāṛī, late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .198 × .260 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXXVIII

17.2731. Portrait of a Sikh prince, seated, with a large cushion. Varnished.

Late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .108 × .138 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CXXV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DCXXIX

17.2732. Portrait of a youth. Incomplete and damaged.

Pañjāb, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .093 × .141 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXXX

17.2733. Prince, perhaps a rājā of Sukhet (cf. No. DCII) seated on carpet, addressing a military officer: two attendants. All on a striped *dari*.

Pahāṛī, early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .260 × .172 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CXXV.

DCXXXI

17.2734. Equestrian portrait of a hill Rājā, perhaps of Sukhet; predominant colors blue and white. The rājā with a bow, two servants with arrows.

Pahāṛī, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .201 × .240 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXXXII

17.2735. Two bearded men (Sikhs), seated on a *dari*, one with a book. Pale salmon and blue.

Amritsar, twentieth century.

Dimensions, .185 × .148 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand as No. DCXXXIII (M. F. A. **17.2736**).

DCXXXIII

17.2736. Two men (paṇḍits) seated on a *dari*, one with a book. Pale salmon and purple.

Amritsar, twentieth century.

Dimensions, .187 × .144 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Same hand as No. DCXXXII (M. F. A. **17.2735**).

DCXXXIV

17.2737. Portrait of a man, seated.

Pañjāb, Amritsar, twentieth century.

Dimensions, .159 × .221 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXXXV

17.2738. Portrait of a prince, seated, smoking.

Pahāṛī, late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .144 × .145 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DCXXXVI

17.2740. Prince seated in balcony on *dari*. Wash sketch in pale colors.
Pahāṛī, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .178 × .208 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXXXVII

17.2741. A man seated. Black outline and wash.
Pañjāb or Pahāṛī, late nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .081 × .031 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXXXVIII

17.2742. Faqīr seated on striped *dari:* with pointed cap, arm rest and rosary.
Amritsar, twentieth century.
Dimensions, .217 × .259 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXXXIX

17.2808. Portrait of a poet, seated with writing materials, on a terrace. Copy.
Pahāṛī, late nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .170 × .255 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXL

17.3092. Sikh *guru* conversing with a prince (both aureoled): the prince's son beside him, and two attendants, one attendant to right, two doorkeepers. Interior of a building, perhaps the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

Pañjāb, Sikh, late nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .27 × .262 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Color names inscribed:

saṁgrapha; supedā, saped neṇu; nerā; gorā, gorā, solī; bhagayā; lālā; saṁdhur; badamī; surakhī; savaj, soj; sasanī; and others illegible.

DCXLI

17.2698. Darbar of a prince; many figures, and group of musicians in lower left-hand corner. Brush outline apparently over transfer.

Pañjāb, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .308 × .257 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

4. Patna

DCXLII

17.2821. Kabīr, weaving, seated under trees at the door of his hut, with two companions.

Patna, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .178 × .236 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The traditional likeness.

I. Design

1. Rājasthānī

DCXLIII

17.2637. Design of *liṅgams*, each with a leaf. Gold and silver on lemon-yellow ground. Part of a picture border.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .066 × .180 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Plate CXXVII.

DCXLIV

17.3019. Repeating pattern, pricked for use as a stencil and partly outlined.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .071 × .272 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXLV

17.3070. Repeating pattern, partly colored, and pricked for use as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .070 × .133 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXLVI

17.3071. Two colored designs on one sheet, for an enamelled *hukka* mouth piece, and a spoon. Pricked for use as a stencil.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur, eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .185 × .088 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXLVII

17.3072. Decorated paper (picture border), gold flowers on purple ground.

Rājasthānī, Jaipur.

Dimensions, .070 × .145 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DCXLVIII

17.3073. Border, pricked and used as a stencil.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .198 × .088 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCXLIX

17.3074. Design with border, pricked and used as a stencil.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .270 × .053 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
See No. DCL in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.3075**, a colored drawing from this stencil).

DCL

17.3075. Design with border, colored.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .164 × .138 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Colored version from the stencil No. DCXLIX in this Catalogue (M. F. A. **17.3074**).

DCLI

17.3076. Large repeating floral border, pricked and used as a stencil.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .405 × .133 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLII

17.3077. Repeating design (floral trellis), brush outline over pricked design, for use as stencil.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .115 × .106 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLIII

17.3079. Design with border, colored.
Rājasthānī, Jaipur, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .090 × .146 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLIV

25.531. Design, in concentric groups, respectively representing four leopards, nine deer (black buck), three jackals or foxes, and a rabbit. The nine deer have but one head to each group of three, and the two horns of each head serve also as one horn of the other heads, so that three horns only are shown, forming a triangle, enclosing the rabbit.
Rājasthānī, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .24 × .192 m. Gift of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.
PLATE CXXIX.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DCLV

26.50. Design of four deer with a single head common to all, embraced in the coils of a single snake, which is biting one of the deer.

Rājasthānī, late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .187 × .142 m. Gift of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

This drawing, with No. DCLIV, belongs to a very interesting group of designs in which two, three, four or more animals are provided with but one common head, the design being so planned that each head appropriately fits either of the bodies to which it is attached. Designs of this type, probably of western asiatic origin, range geographically from Greece through Persia, northern and southern India, to Ceylon, and in time from the sixth century B.C. to the twentieth century A.D. (Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Some ancient elements in Indian decorative Art.* Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, II, 1913–1914, p. 383). A good example of the design of four deer occurs at Ajaṇṭā, Cave I, as a decorative relief on a capital, others in South Indian art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These lions with one head appear on a railing pillar of Śuṅga age at Gaṛhwā (Cunningham, A. S. Reports, vol. X, pl. V). A Persian drawing representing four lions with one head is reproduced in Martin, F. R., *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, 1912, pl. 164. Another of four horses in Sarre und Mittwoch, *Zeichnungen von Riza Abbasi*, 1914, pl. 11. Other examples, including the most remarkable parallels, are given in my paper cited above.

PLATE CXXIX.

2. PAHĀṚĪ

DCLVI

17.2630. Designs for embroidery. Obverse, Kṛṣṇa and two *gopīs*, trees and birds. Reverse, floral medallion.

Dimensions, .44 × .478 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLVII

17.2638. Four decorative panels, branches, flowers, and birds: on pink background covered with horizontal dashes. Cut from the mount of a Kāṅgṛā painting.

Pahāṛī, Kāngṛā, late eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .169 × .174 m. and .183 × .203 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE CXXVI.

3. PAÑJĀB

DCLVIII

17.2631. Border, with iris motif. Pricked for use as a stencil.

Pañjāb, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .296 × .077 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DCLIX

17.2632. Four designs in red, perhaps for jewellery or metal work.
Obtained in Lahore; nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .114 × .118 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLX

17.2633. Arabesque, for architecture or embroidery.
Obtained in Lahore; nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .155 × .103 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXI

17.2634. Border.
Obtained in Lahore; nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .023 × .128 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXII

17.2635. Copy of Japanese lacquer floral pattern. Scalloped outline.
Obtained in Lahore; nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .230 × .088 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Cf. No. DCLXXV in this Catalogue.

DCLXIII

17.2636. Design.
Pañjāb, Lahore, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .127 × .220 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXIV

17.2639. Design for a cotton print, in blue and pink. Perhaps from a wooden block.
Pañjāb, nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .186 × .046 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXV

17.2640. Two designs, perhaps for inlaid jade sword or dagger handles.
Pañjāb, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .106 × .223 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXVI

17.2641. Ferrule and shoe of a scabbard, designs in yellow.
Dimensions, .197 × .294 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DCLXVII

17.2642. Designs for metal vessels: two dishes, a ewer and a *hukka* base. Red brush outline over tracing transfer.

Dimensions, .247 × .31 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXVIII

17.2643. Sheet of fifteen designs for sword handles, brush outline over red underdrawing without priming.

Obtained in Lahore; eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .300 × .480 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXIX

17.2644. Five designs for slippers.

Obtained in Lahore; late nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .108 × .35 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXX

17.2645. Colored drawing of pendant for hair braid.

Probably Lahore; nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .081 × .206 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXXI

17.2646. Colored drawing of a deer and a turkey.

Pañjāb or Pahāṛī, eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .085 × .107 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXXII

17.2648. Drawing of a plant, partly colored. Reverse with border designs.

Pañjāb, Lahore, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .134 × .168 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXXIII

17.2649. Drawing of a flower, faintly colored.

Pañjāb, Lahore, nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .113 × .188 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXXIV

17.2650. Flowering tree, perhaps cherry. Probably a copy.

Obtained in Lahore; eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .127 × .184 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

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DCLXXV

17.2651. Seascape: mountain, water and buildings, evidently copied from a Japanese lacquered box of late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Colored.

Obtained in Lahore; early nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .292 × .195 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. No. DCLXII in this Catalogue.

DCLXXVI

17.2658. Parrot eating mangos from the tree. Outline drawing.

Pañjāb(?) Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .098 × .162 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXXVII

17.2876. Two borders, one yellow, one yellow and blue black.

Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .043 × .081 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXXVIII

17.2901. Design evidently copied from a Japanese lacquered box, probably early nineteenth century. In yellow, and pricked for pouncing.

Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .210 × .088 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXXIX

17.3094. Floral design, transfer.

Dimensions, .131 × .186 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

DCLXXX

17.3096. A small plant with blue flowers, of which one is colored.

Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .033 × .173 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

4. Garhwāl

DCLXXXI

17.2681. Sheet of eighteen floral motifs, including various lilies, canna, and cyclamen.

Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl.

Dimensions, .233 × .193 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Originally obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.

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DCLXXXII

17.2682. Floral design.
Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .166 × .112 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.

DCLXXXIII

17.2684. Designs for borders: colored, chiefly in shades of green.
Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .080 × .196 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.
Amongst the motifs are grape-vine and chrysanthemum.

DCLXXXIV

17.2685. Flowering plant, apparently Borage; decorative drawing, colored.
Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .087 × .162 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.
PLATE CXXVIII.

DCLXXXV

17.2686. Flowering plant, with red trumpet-shaped flowers. Decorative drawing.
Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .91 × .175 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.
PLATE CXXVIII.

DCLXXXVI

17.2687. Flowering plant (hawkweed?), partly colored, free drawing.
Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .099 × .202 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.
Inscribed: *Gula dāṇḍri kī ṭhaiṇi.*

DCLXXXVII

17.2688. Leaf, flowers, and fruit.
Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, late eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .450 × .090 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl. Probably by Mola Rām.
PLATE CXXVII.

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DCLXXXVIII

17.2889. Repeating pattern, darkened by use as a stencil.
Eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .148 × .062 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained by Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.

DCLXXXIX

17.2690. Design for a metal sword handle; in black, yellow, and red.
Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, eighteenth or nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .146 × .194 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.

DCXC

17.2691. Design for sword handle (damascened) colored.
Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, seventeenth century.
Dimensions, .092 × .180 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.

DCXCI

17.2692. Design for inlaid metal (*bidrī?*) sword handle.
Pahāṛī, Gaṛhwāl, eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .110 × .177 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Originally obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.

DCXCII

17.2693. Design for sword handle.
Seventeenth century.
Dimensions, .135 × .176 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.

5. Patna

DCXCIII

17.2694. Colored design for knife or dagger handle — probably excavated brass with pseudo-jade and black wax.
Gaṛhwāl or Pañjāb(?), nineteenth century.
Dimensions, .110 × .162 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.

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DCXCIV

17.2695. Designs for knives and earpicks.
Gaṛhwāl or Pañjāb(?), eighteenth century.
Dimensions, .123 × .121 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.
Obtained from Bālak Rām Sah of Gaṛhwāl.
Text describing the knives in Nāgarī-characters:

Paṁchī cakora kā rastā-beṭ kī churī
Bird partridge way-handle knife

and

Vakre de muhaī beṭ kī churī
Goat's-face handle knife.

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INDIAN COLLECTIONS

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. S. C., A. R. . . Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report.
A. S. I., A. R. . . Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
A. S. W. I. . . . . Archaeological Survey of Western India.
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TRANSLITERATION

THE usual scheme of transliteration is employed; but *o* and *e* are to be read long unless otherwise indicated. As far as possible, a distinction has been made between the nasalization of a vowel, and the indication of a nasal letter; in the former case *anusvara* is represented by a tilde (~) above the vowel nasalized, in the latter by the letter ṁ. The vowels and letter *c* should be pronounced as in Italian, the other consonants approximately as in English, but *ś* and *ṣ* like *sh*. Pronounce *a* like *a* in America (never like *a* in man); *c* like *c* in church (never like *c* in cat). Quantity should be observed and stress minimized.

In the Hindī texts, *b* is usually represented by Nāgarī *v*; *v* by Nāgarī *v* with dot; and *kh* by Nāgarī *ṣ*.

Some differences will be observed as between the Sanskrit and the vernacular spellings. In all quoted book titles, extracts from the writings of others, as well as in the transliterated texts, the original spellings are strictly adhered to. For these reasons certain words will be found to be spelt in more than one way, *e. g.*, Ajaṇṭā, Ajunta; Mālkauśa, Mālkos.

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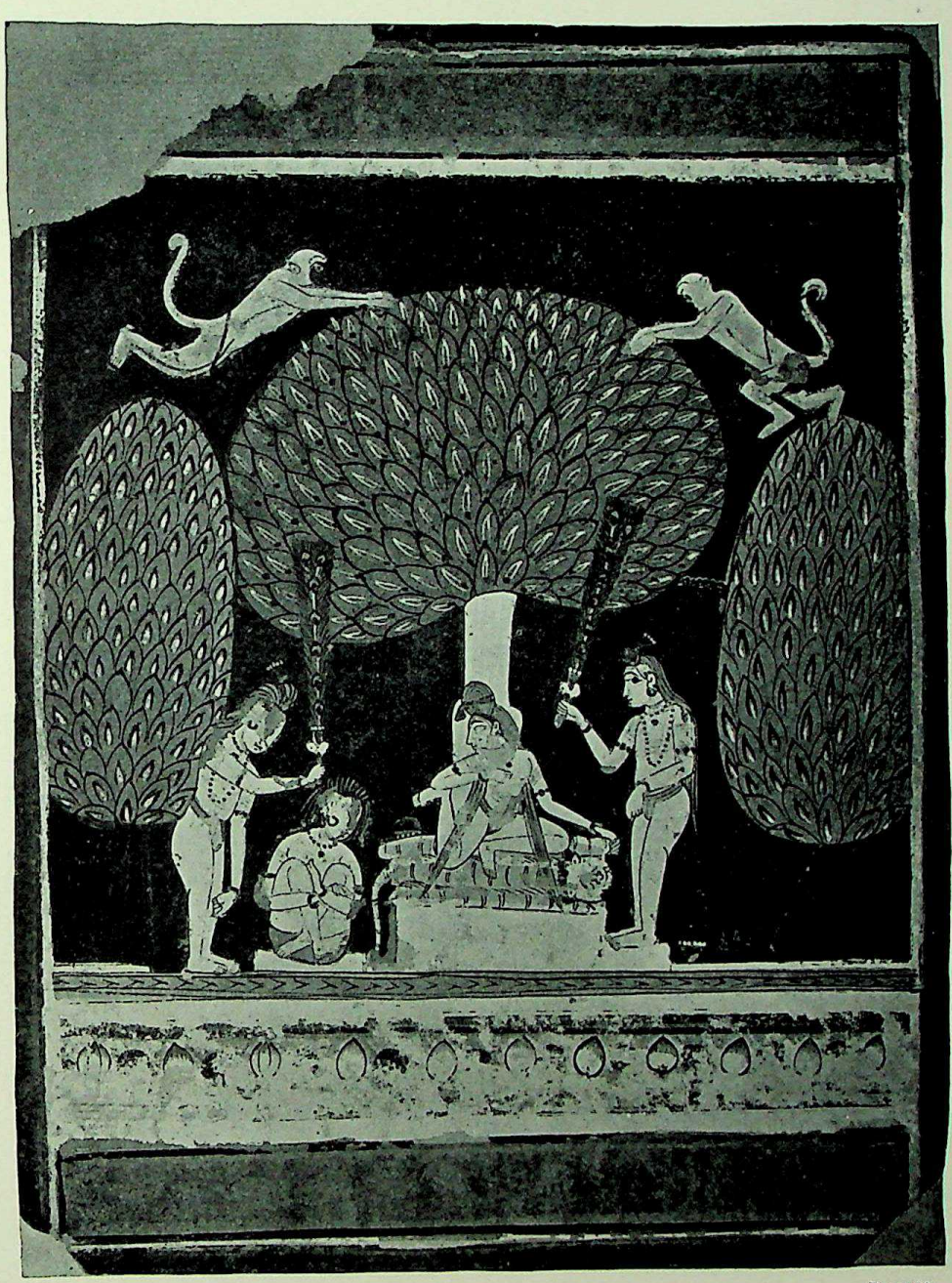

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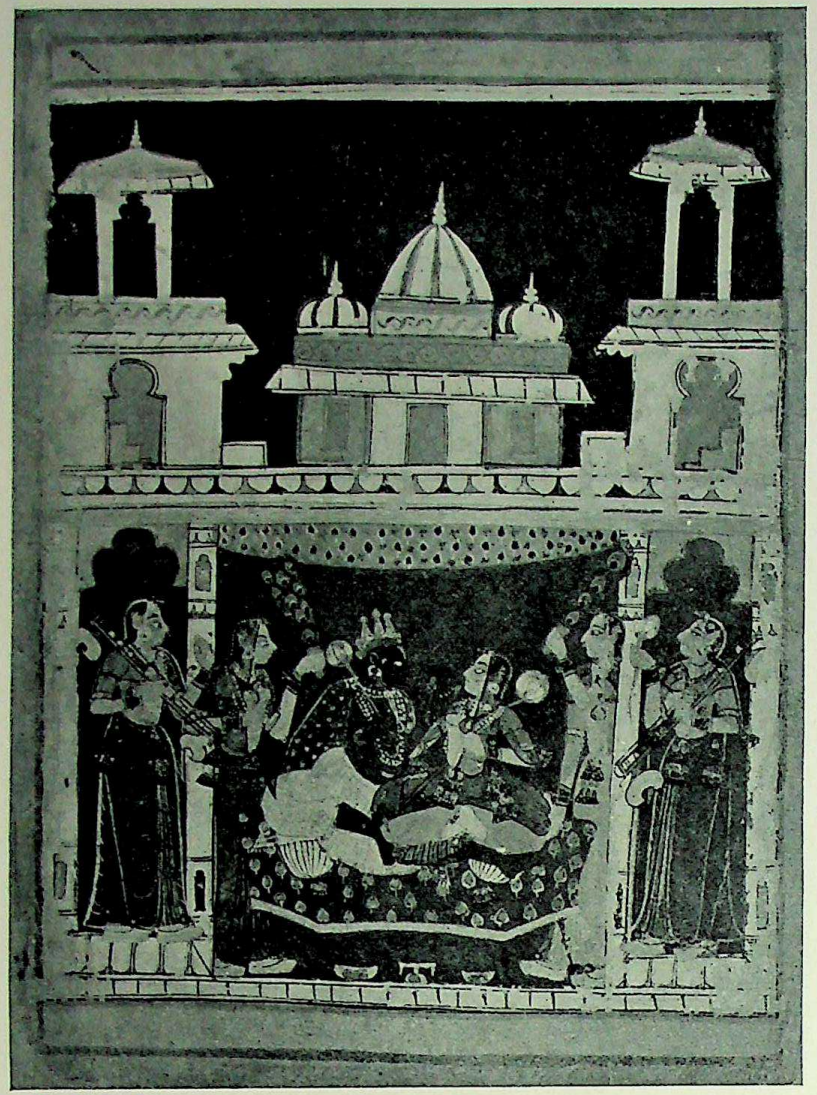

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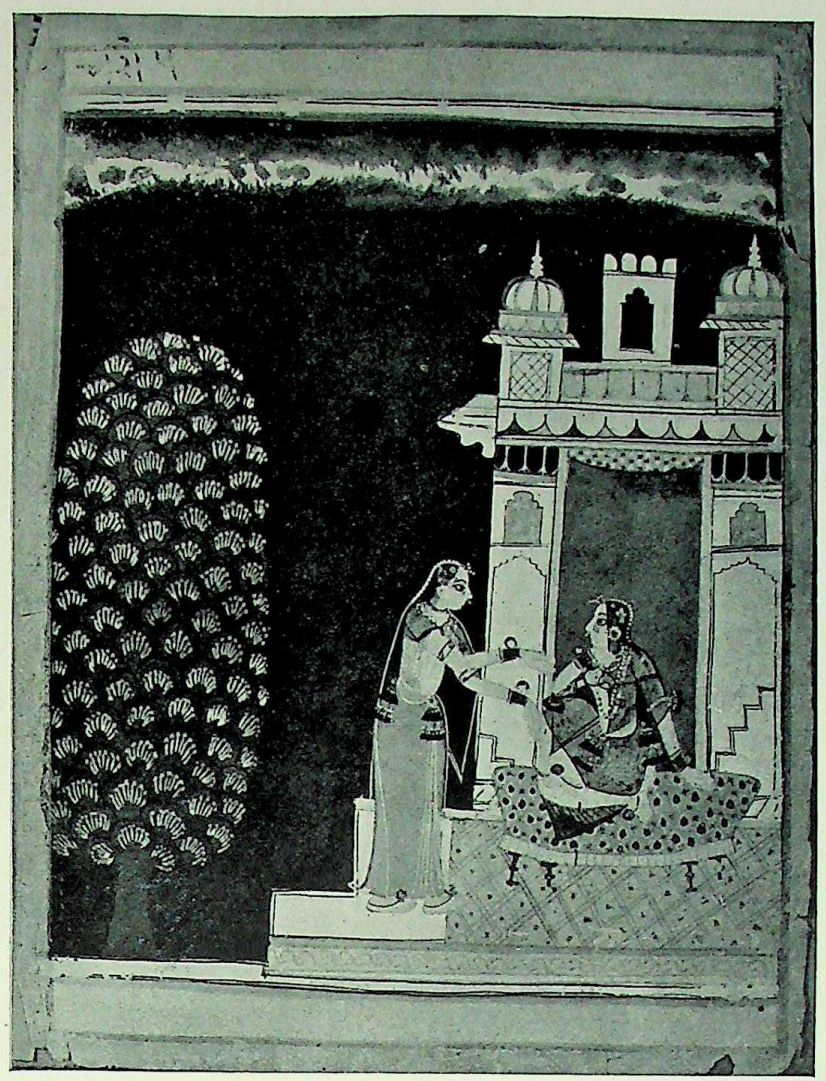

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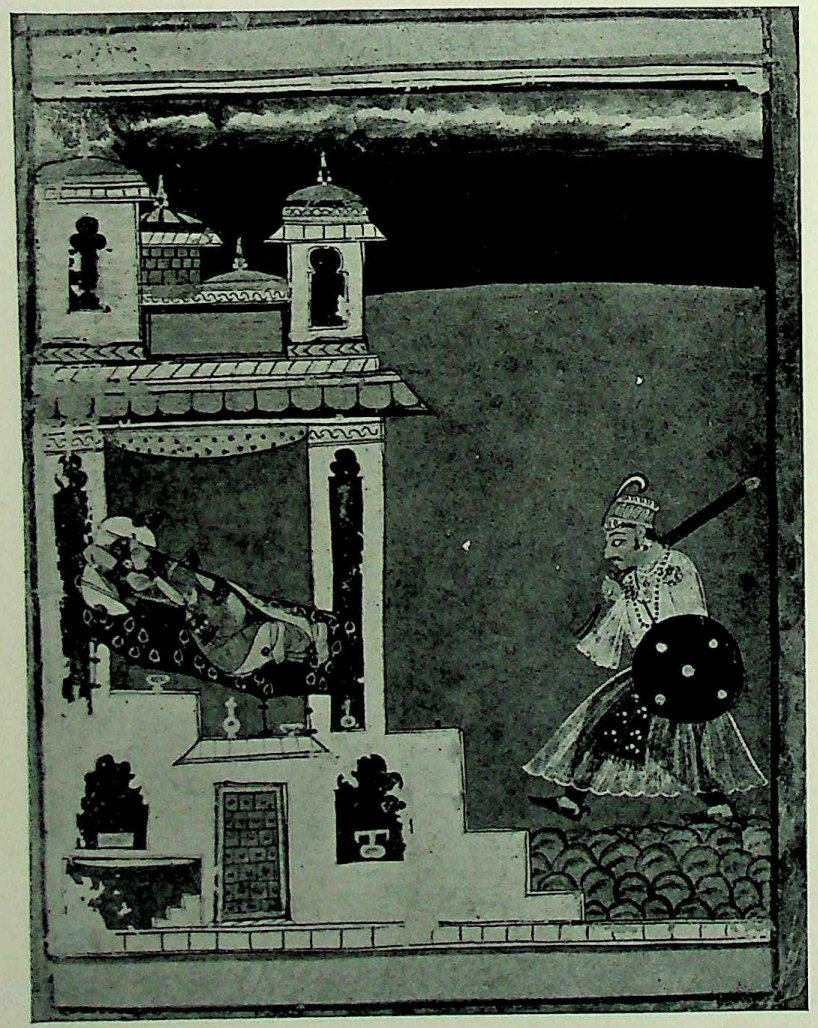

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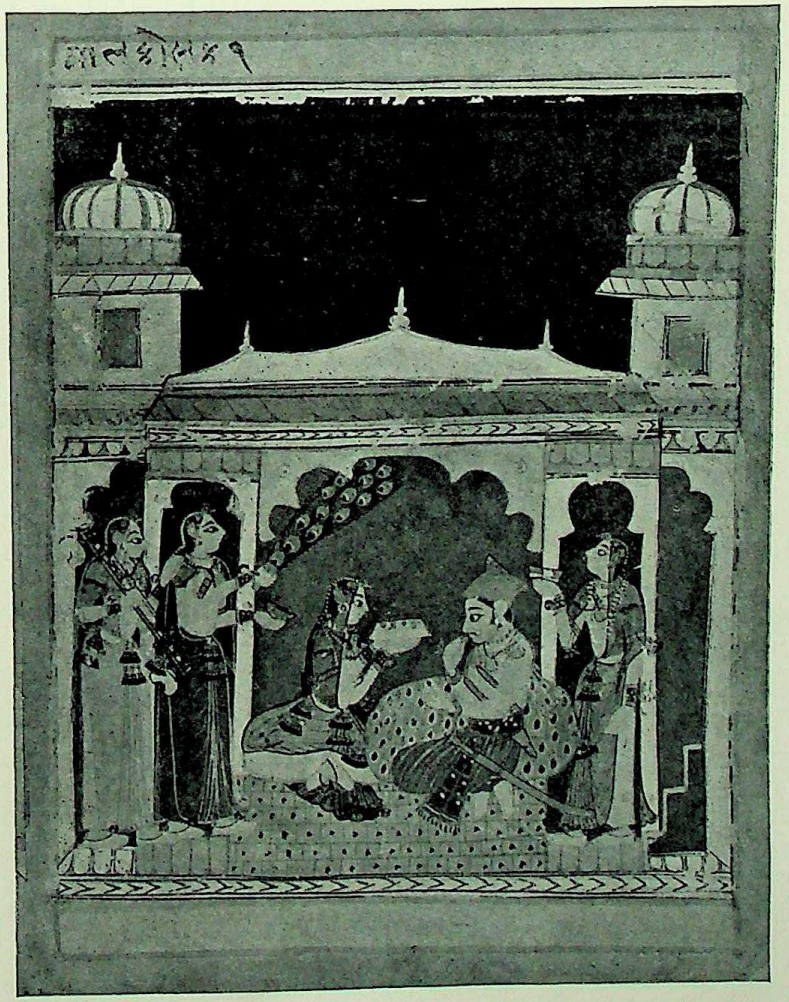

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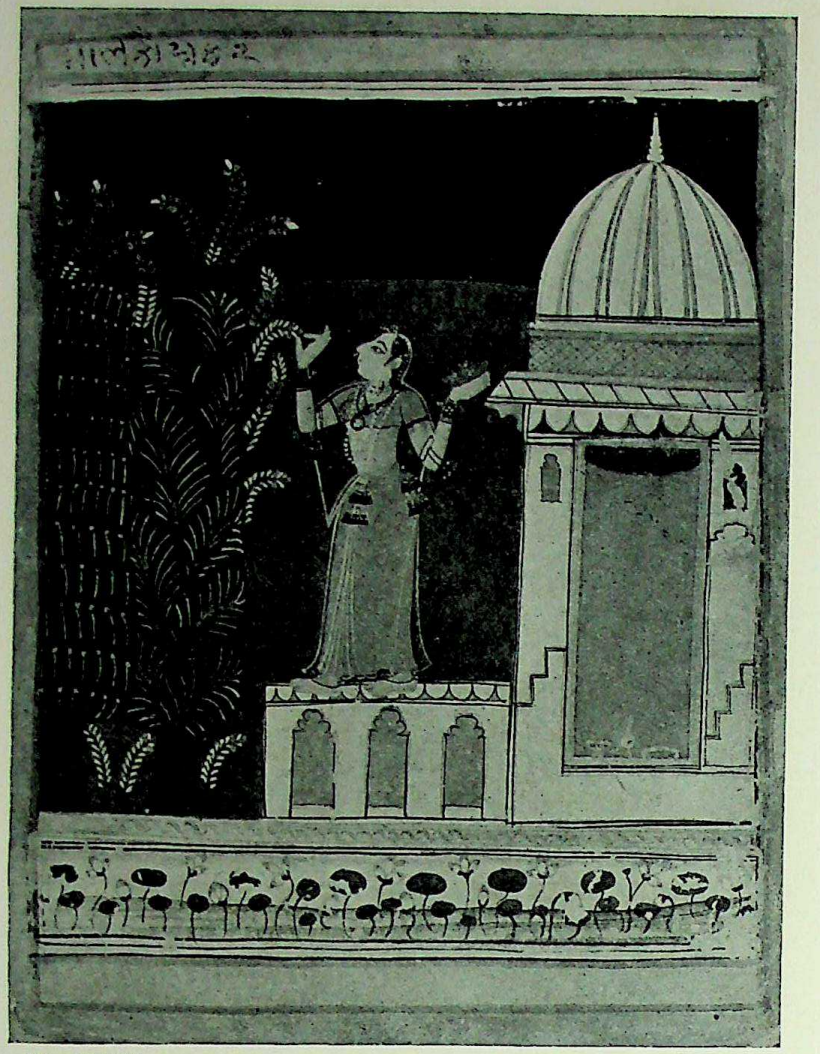

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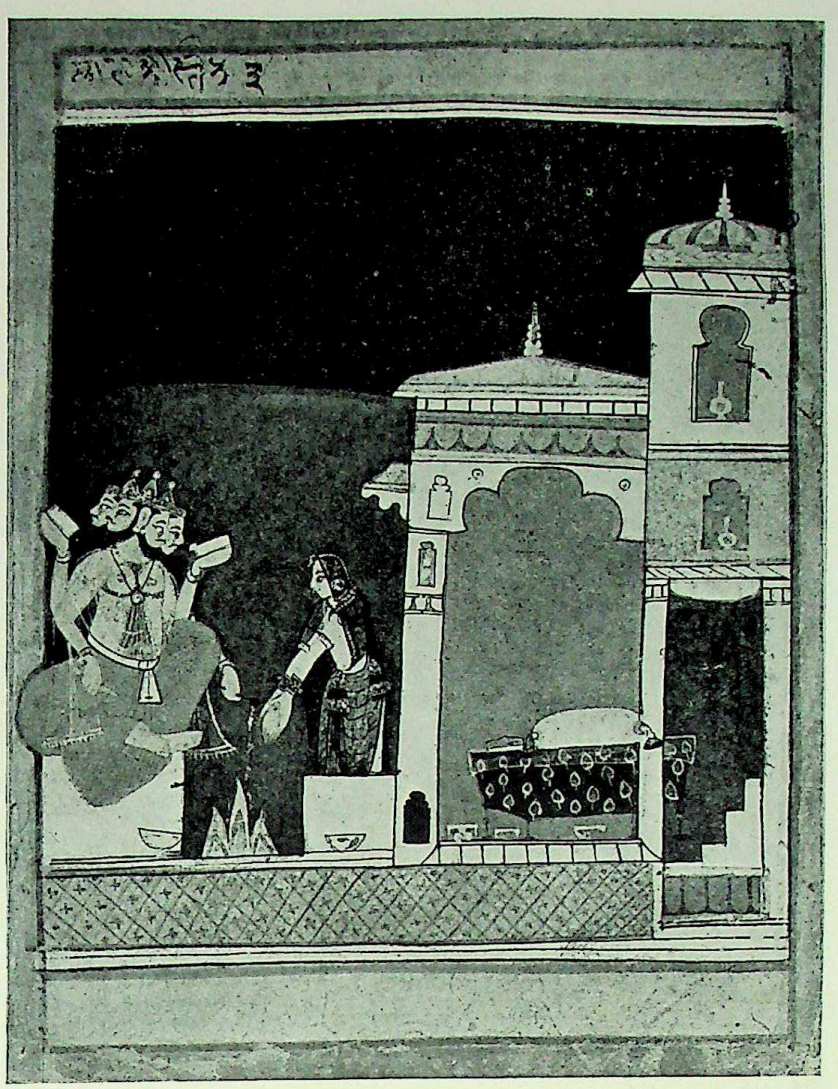

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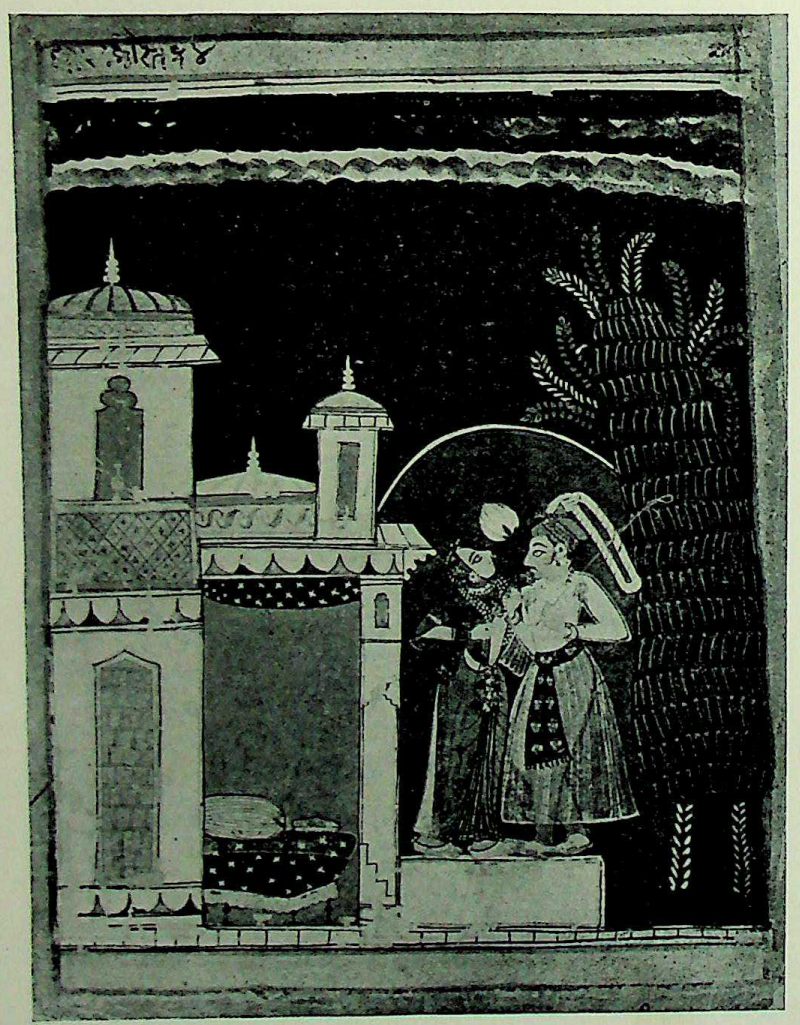

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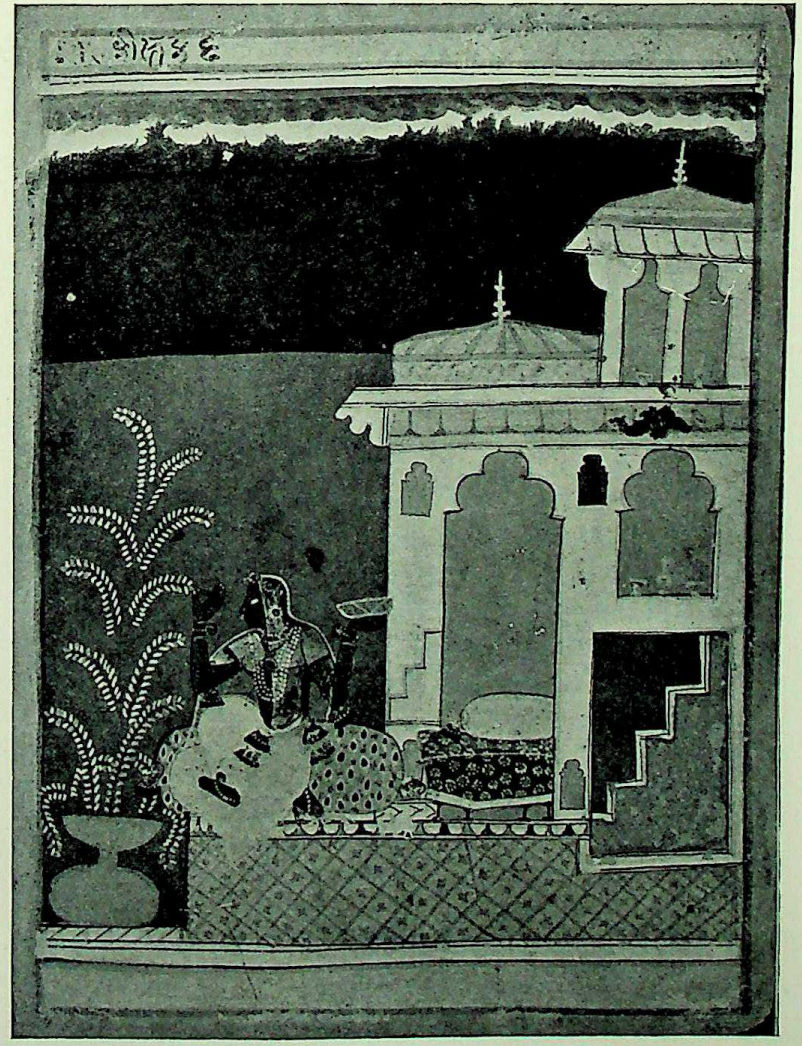

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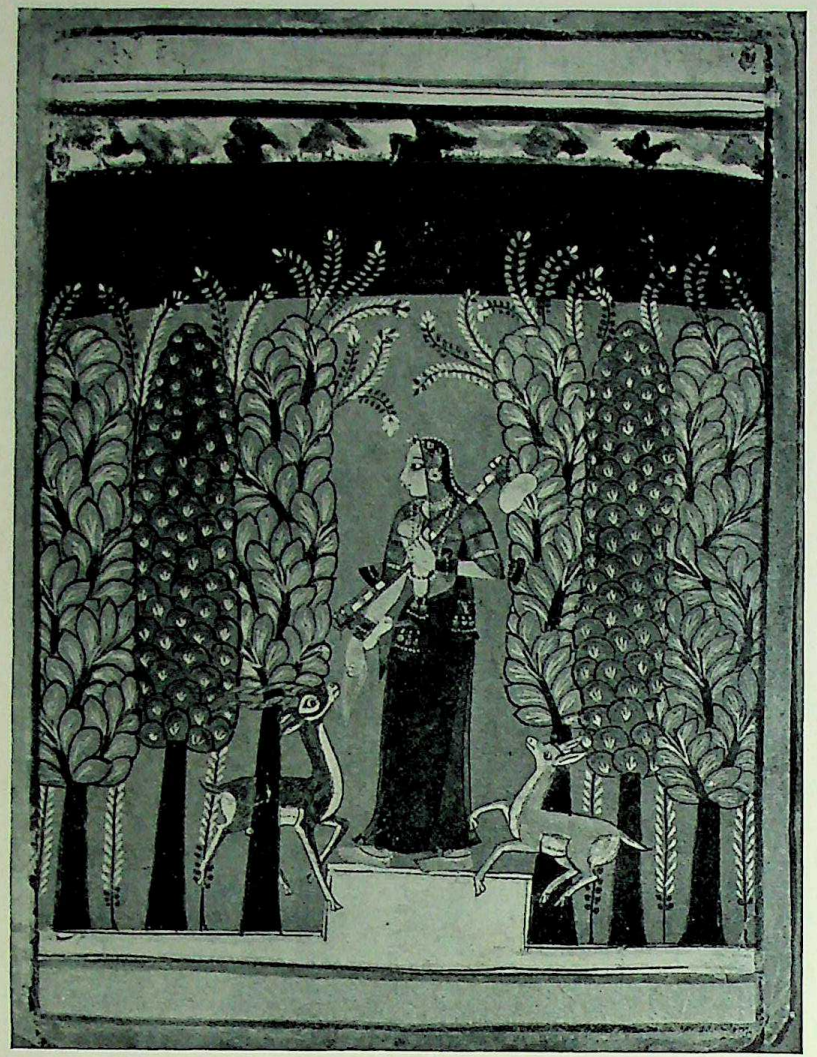

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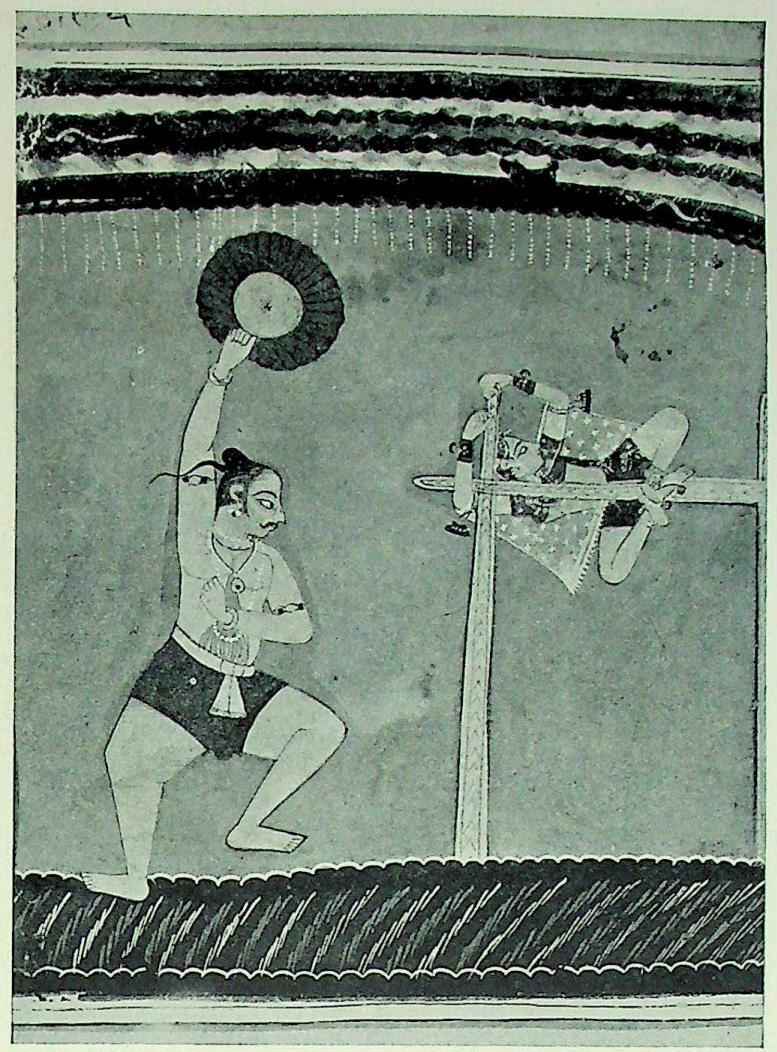

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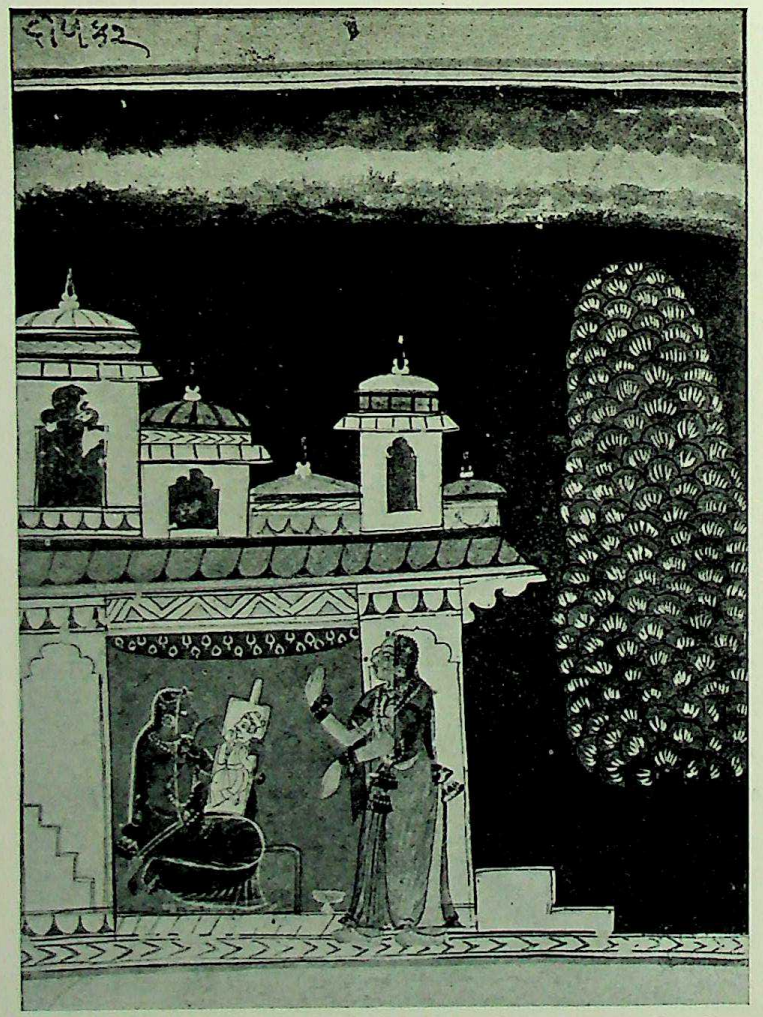

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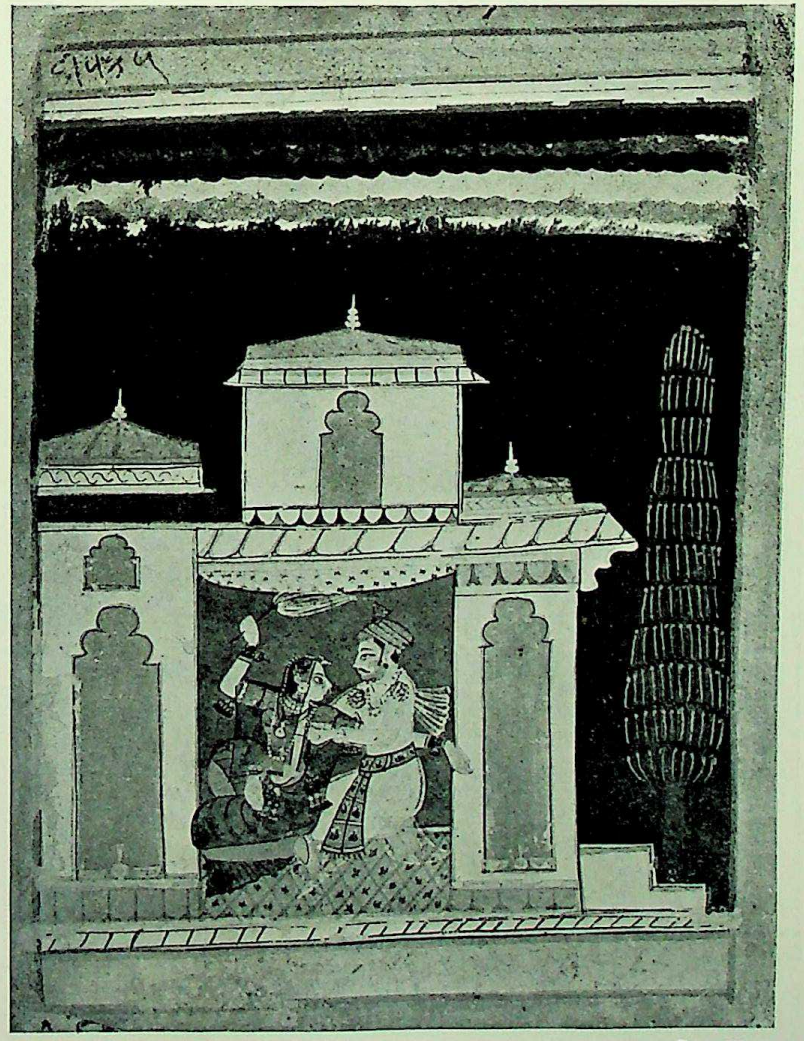

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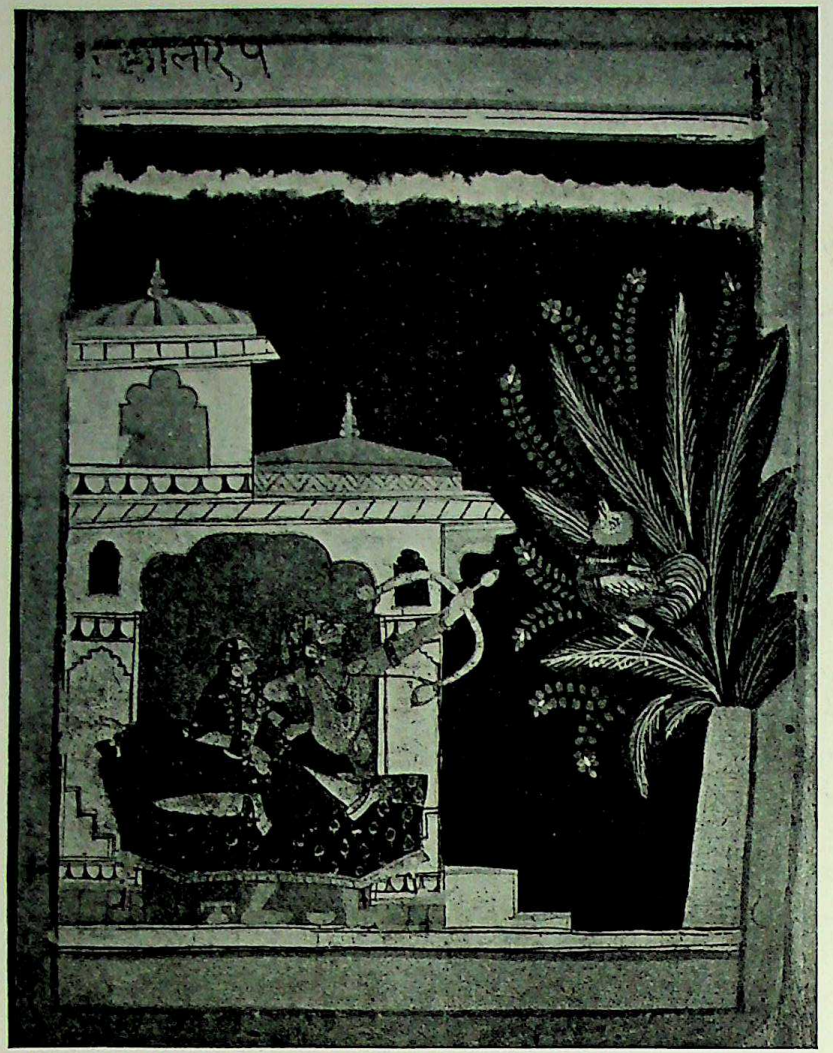

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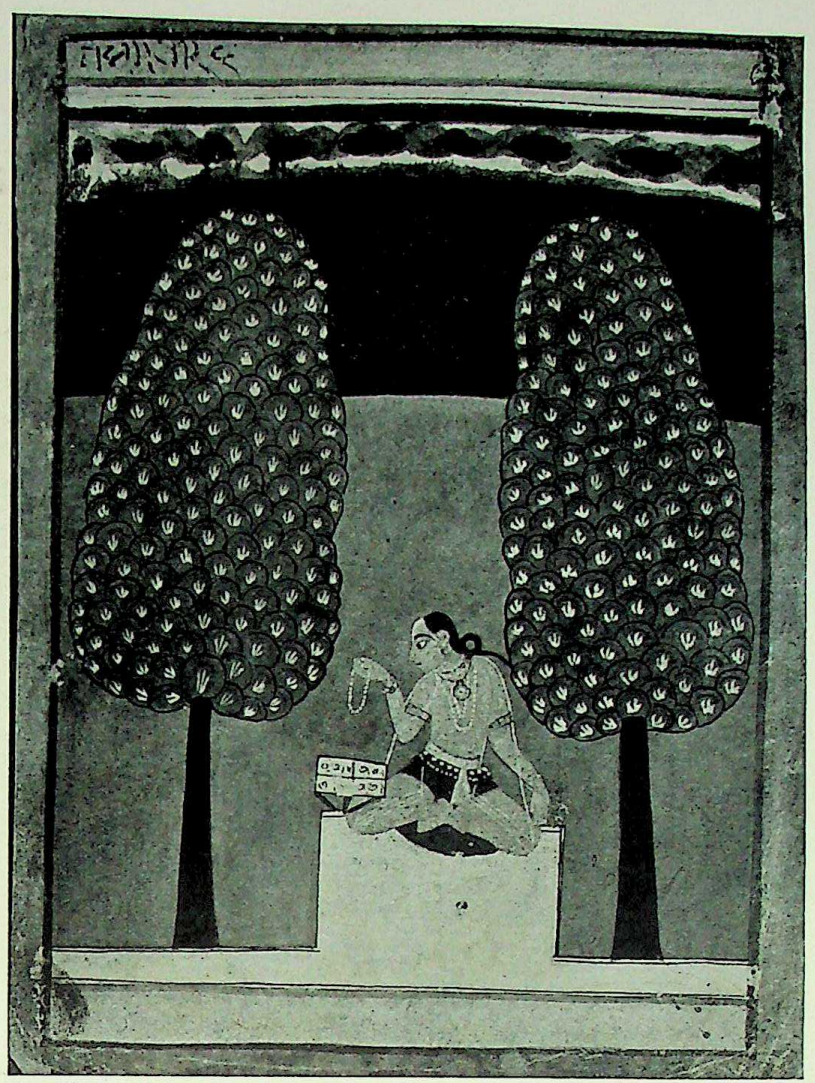

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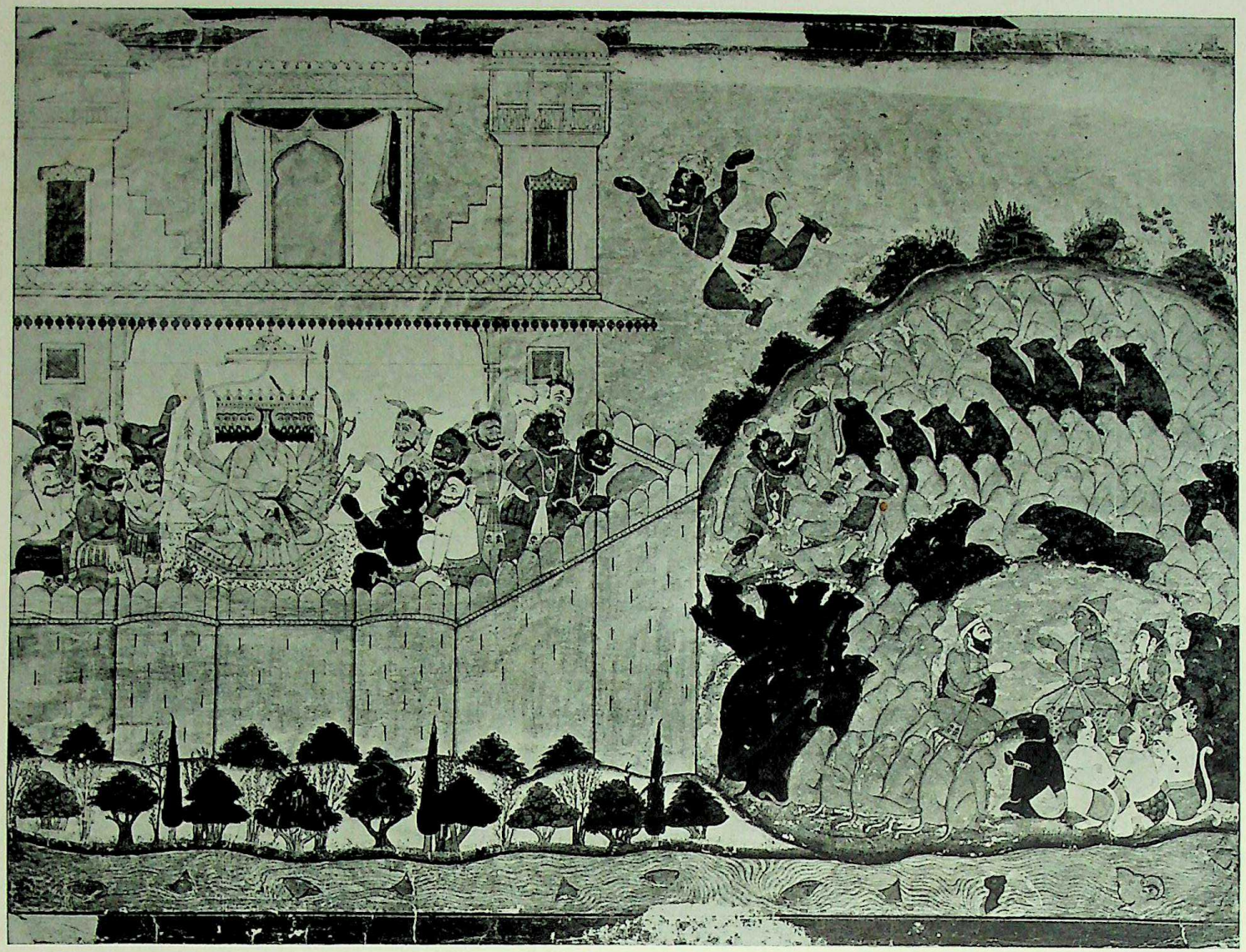

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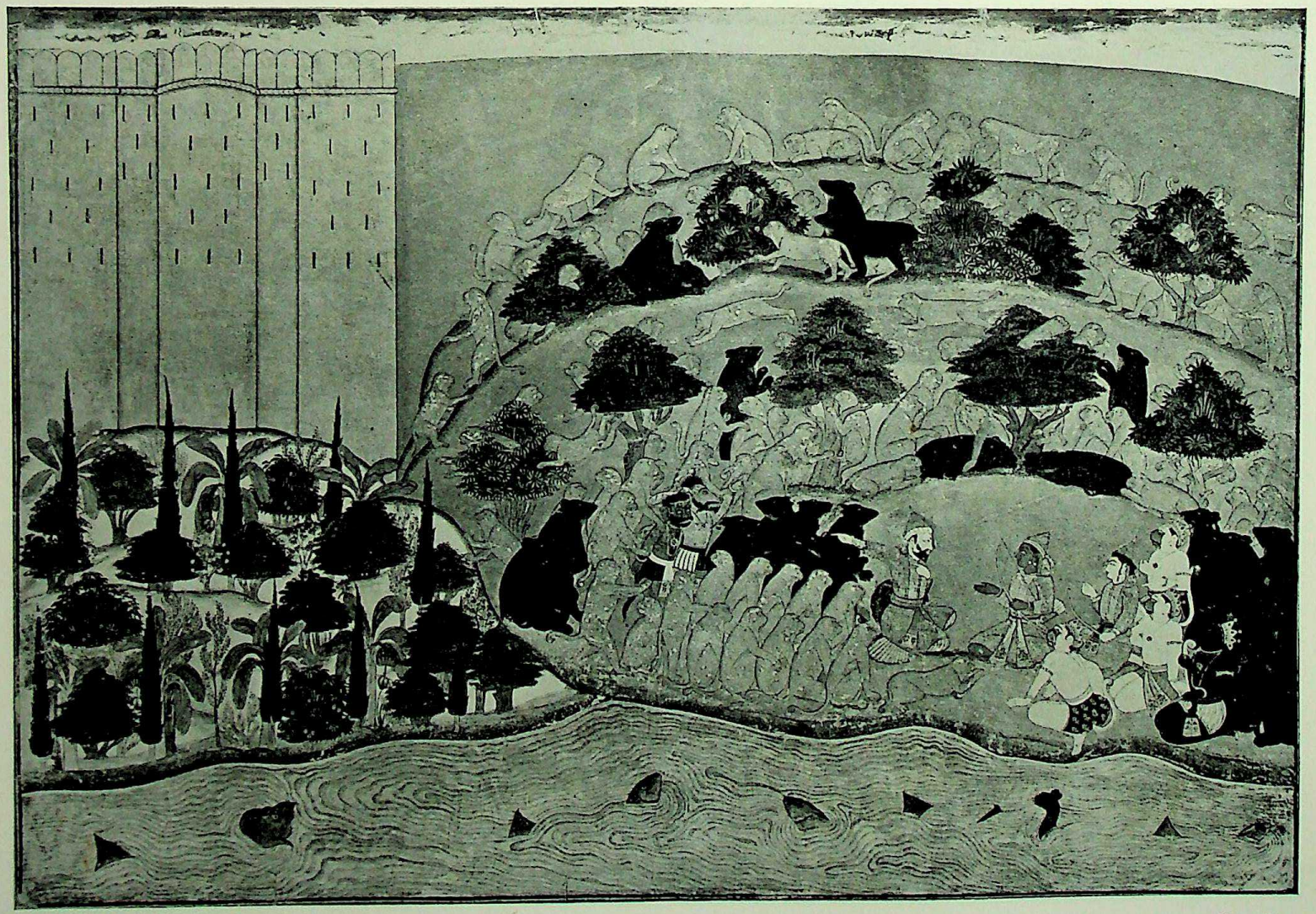

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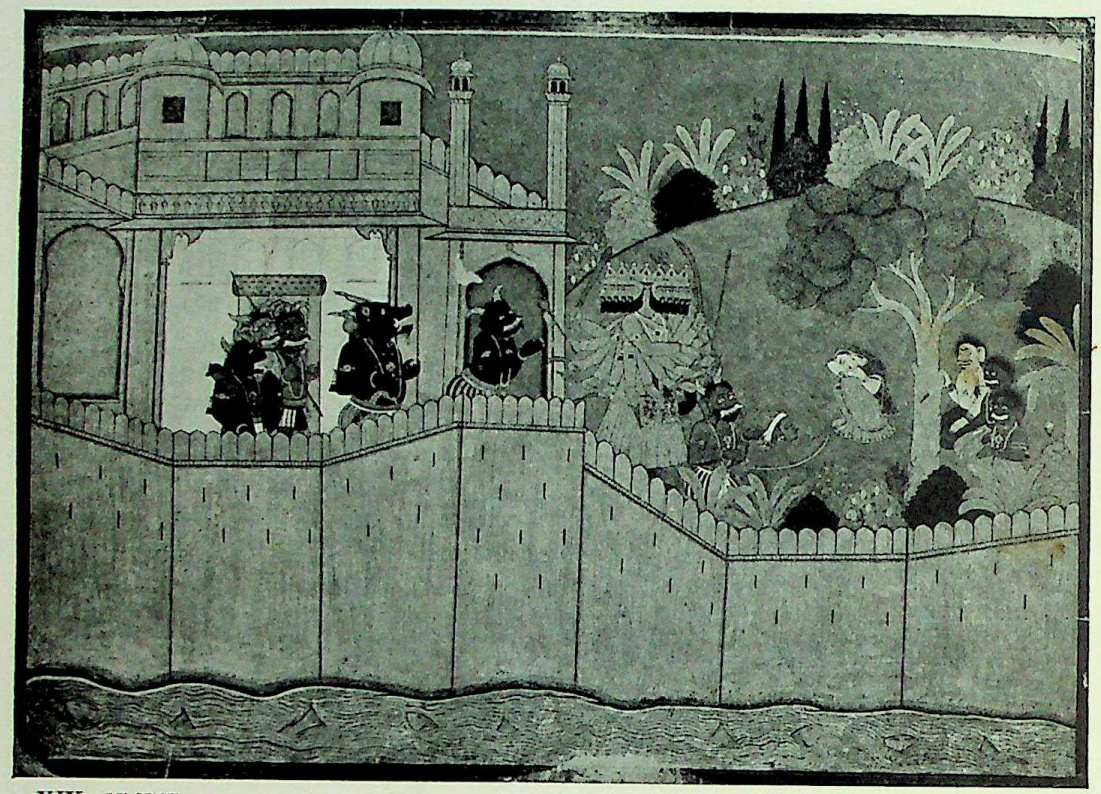

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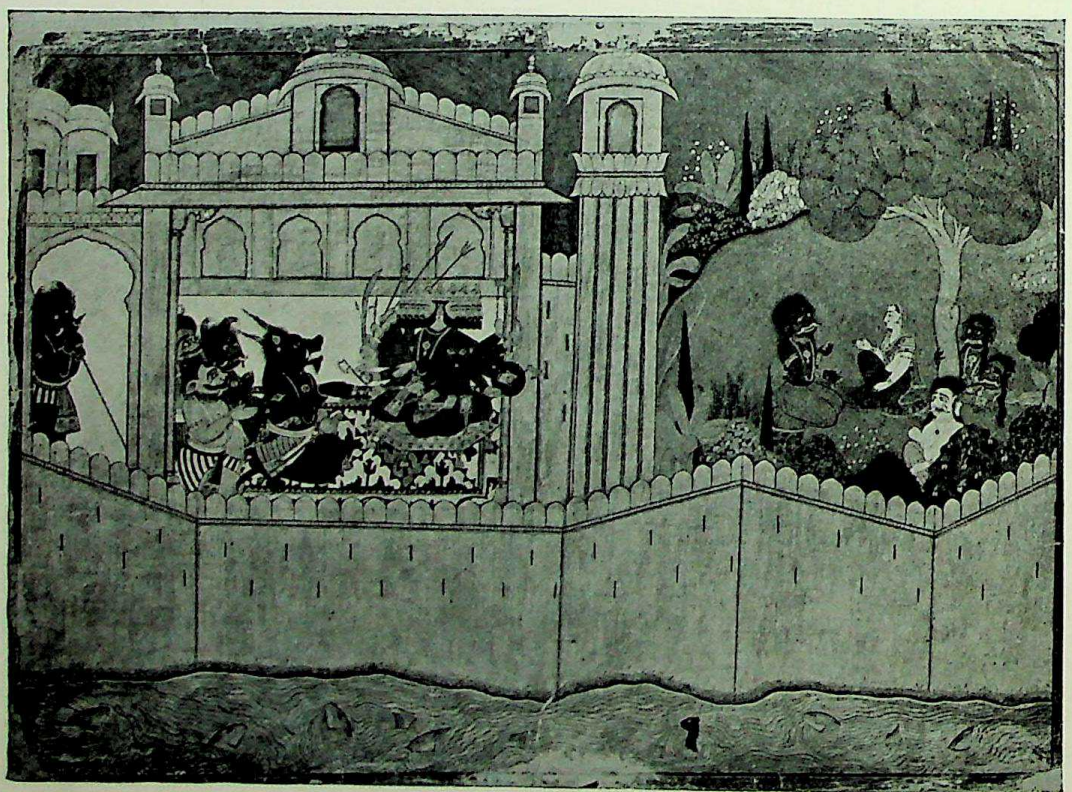

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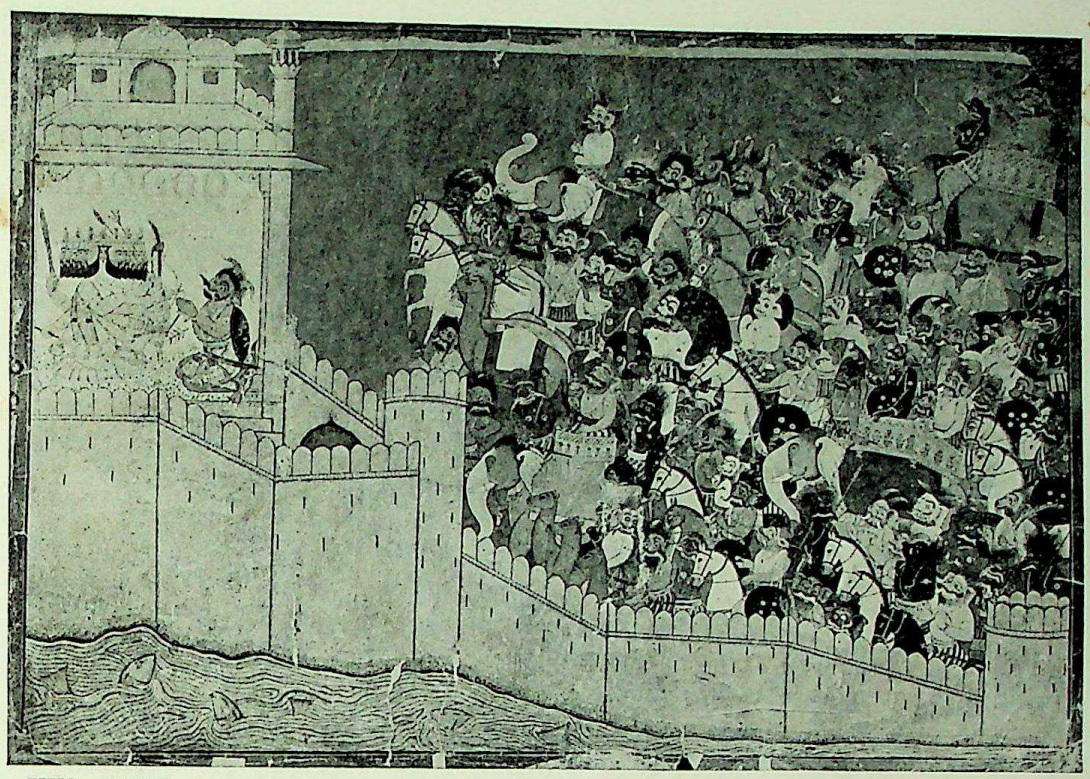

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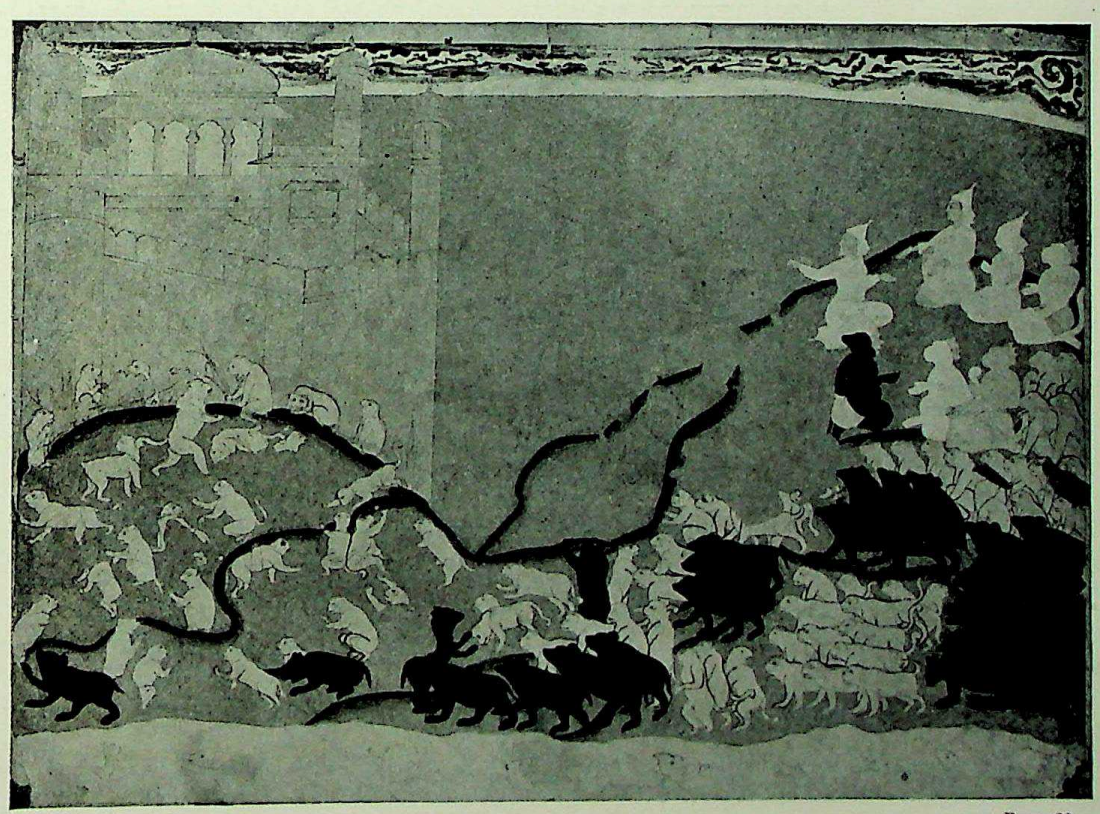

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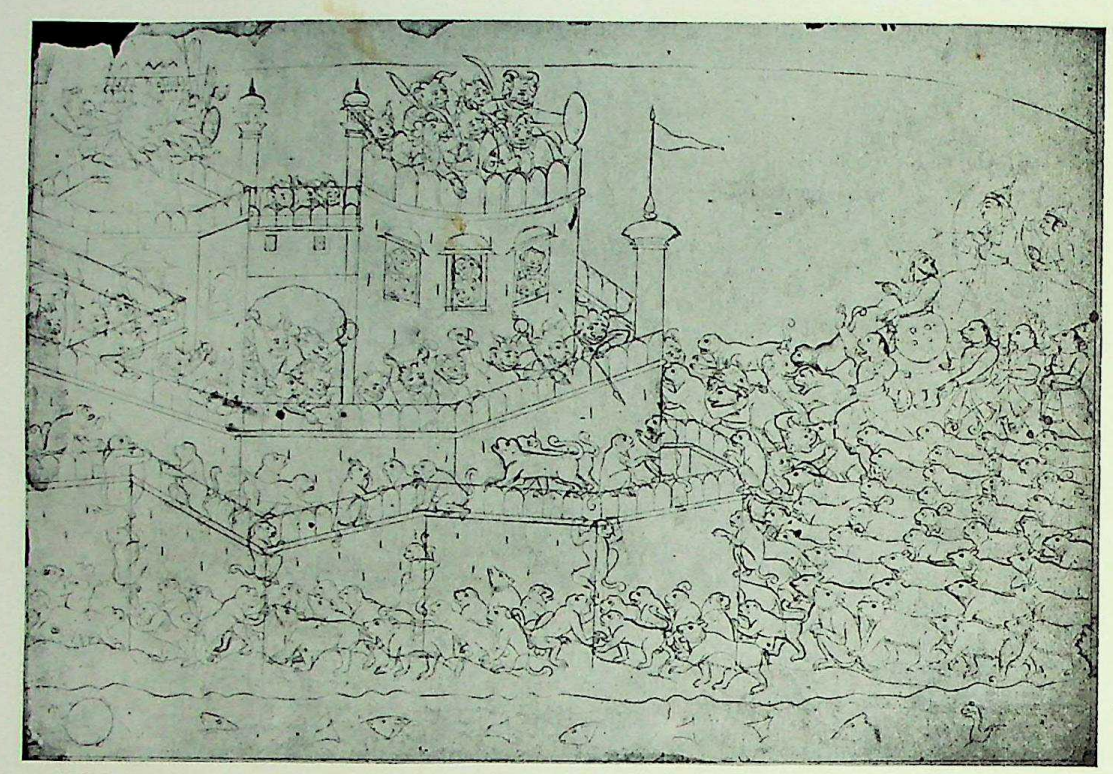

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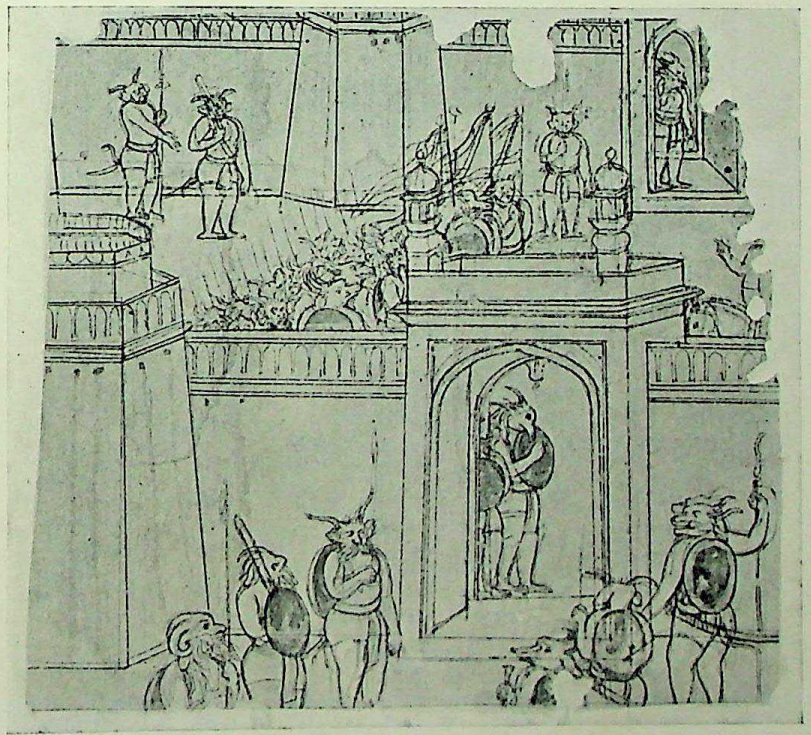

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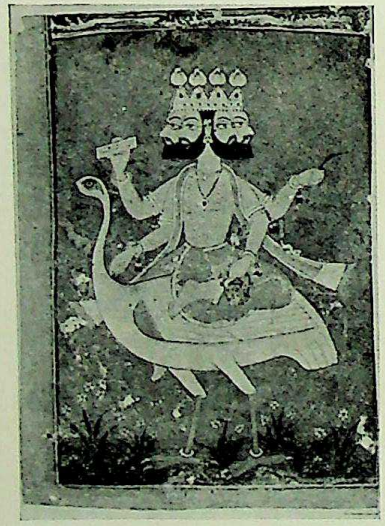

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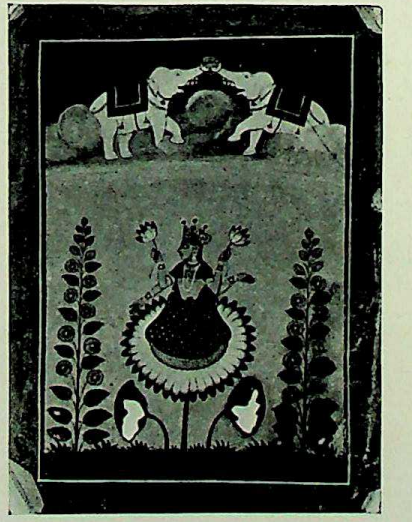
BHAIRAVA

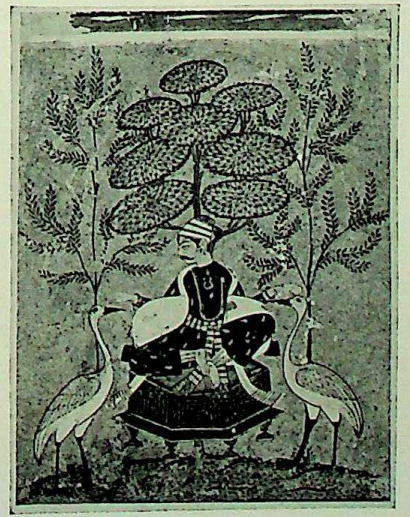
CLXII. 17.2794* PAGE 121

VIṢṆU



CLXIII. 17.2795 PAGE 121

GAJALAKṢMĪ



CCCXCVII. 17.2796 PAGE 202

PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

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PLATE XVIII

XXXIX. 25.426

PAGE 86

KṚṢṆA EXPECTING RĀDHĀ

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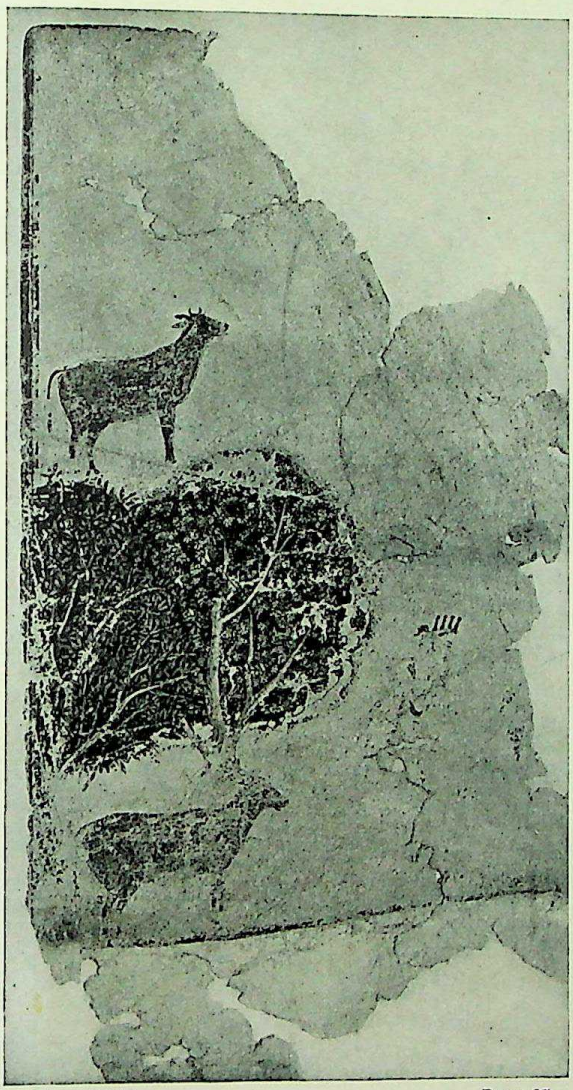

XL. 23.444 PAGE 87

CCXLIX. 17.2618 PAGE 156

RĀSA MAṆḌALA

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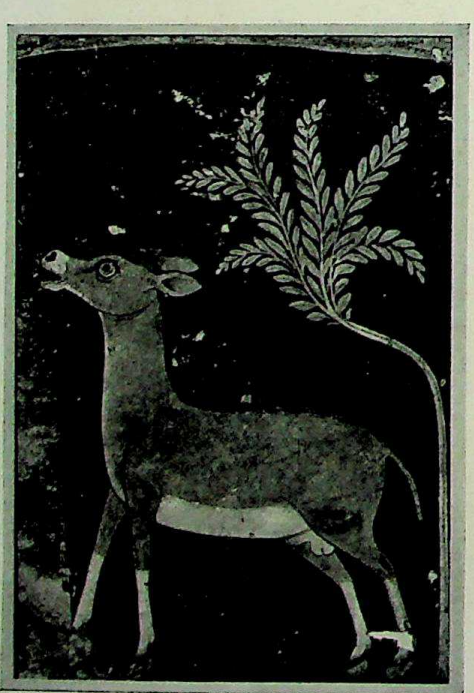
XLV. 17.2775 PAGE 88

THE FRIENDS

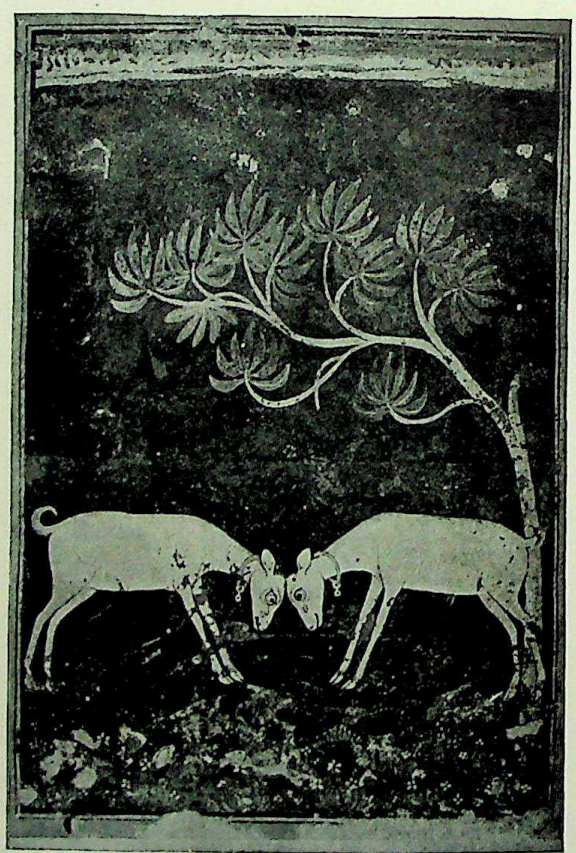
XLVI. 17.2776 PAGE 89

THE BRĀHMAṆ



XLVIII. 17.2778 PAGE 89

THE DONKEY



XLI. 17.2763 PAGE 87

THE DEER

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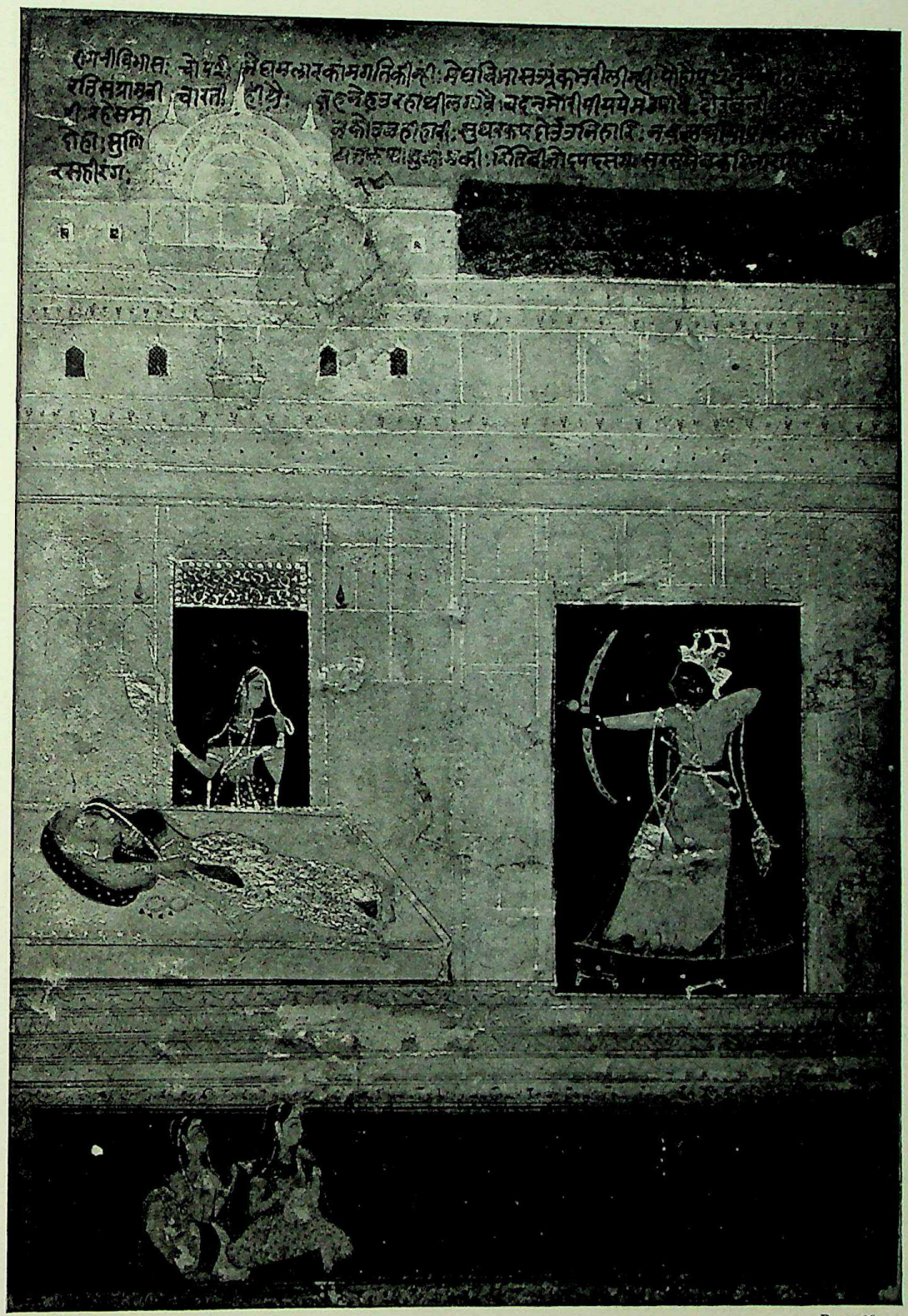

L. 15.51

PAGE 90

VIBHĀSA RĀGIṆĪ

RĀJASTHĀNĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXII

LI. 15.53

MADHU-MĀDHAVĪ RĀGIṆĪ

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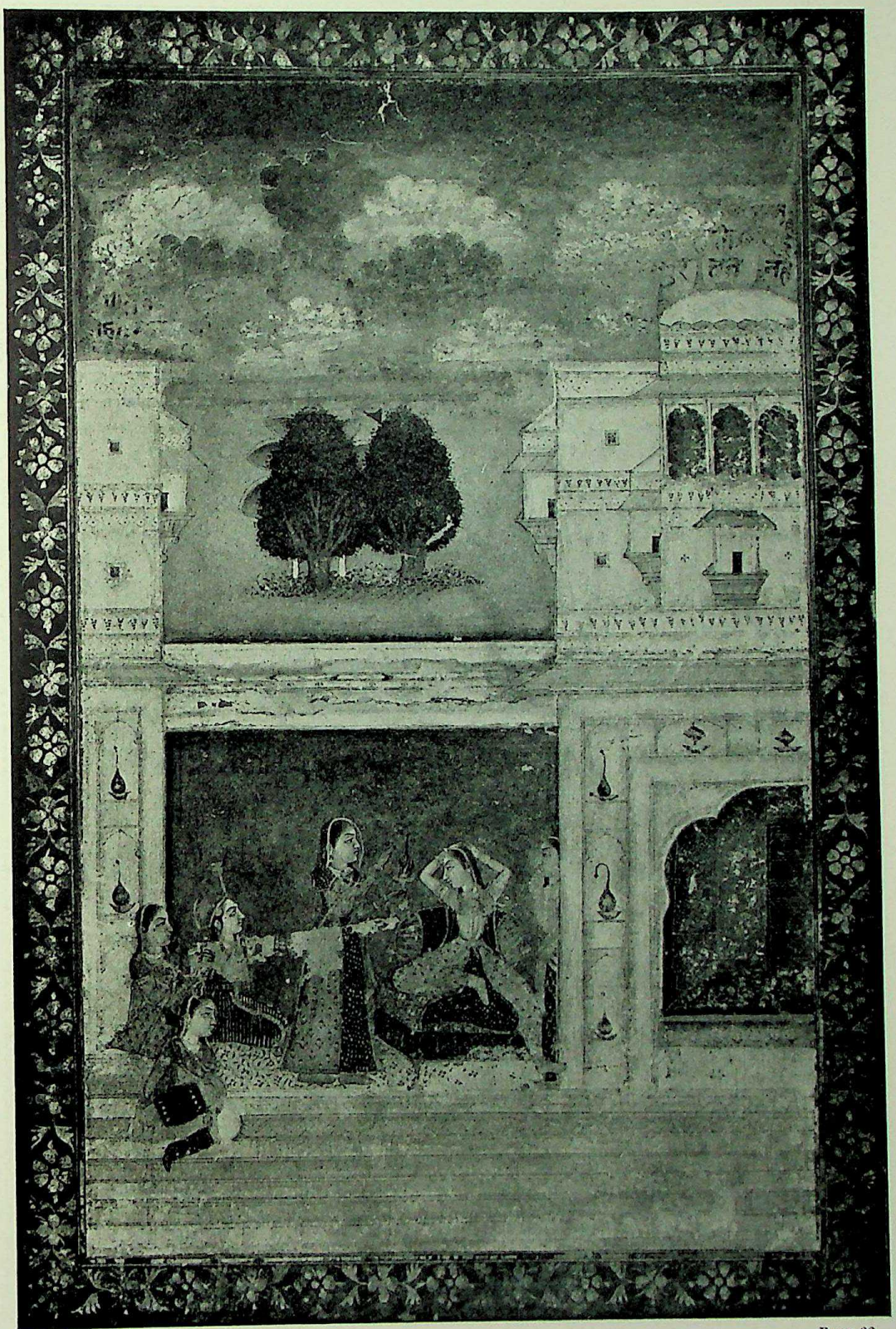

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LII. 17.68

VARĀRĪ(?) RĀGIṆĪ

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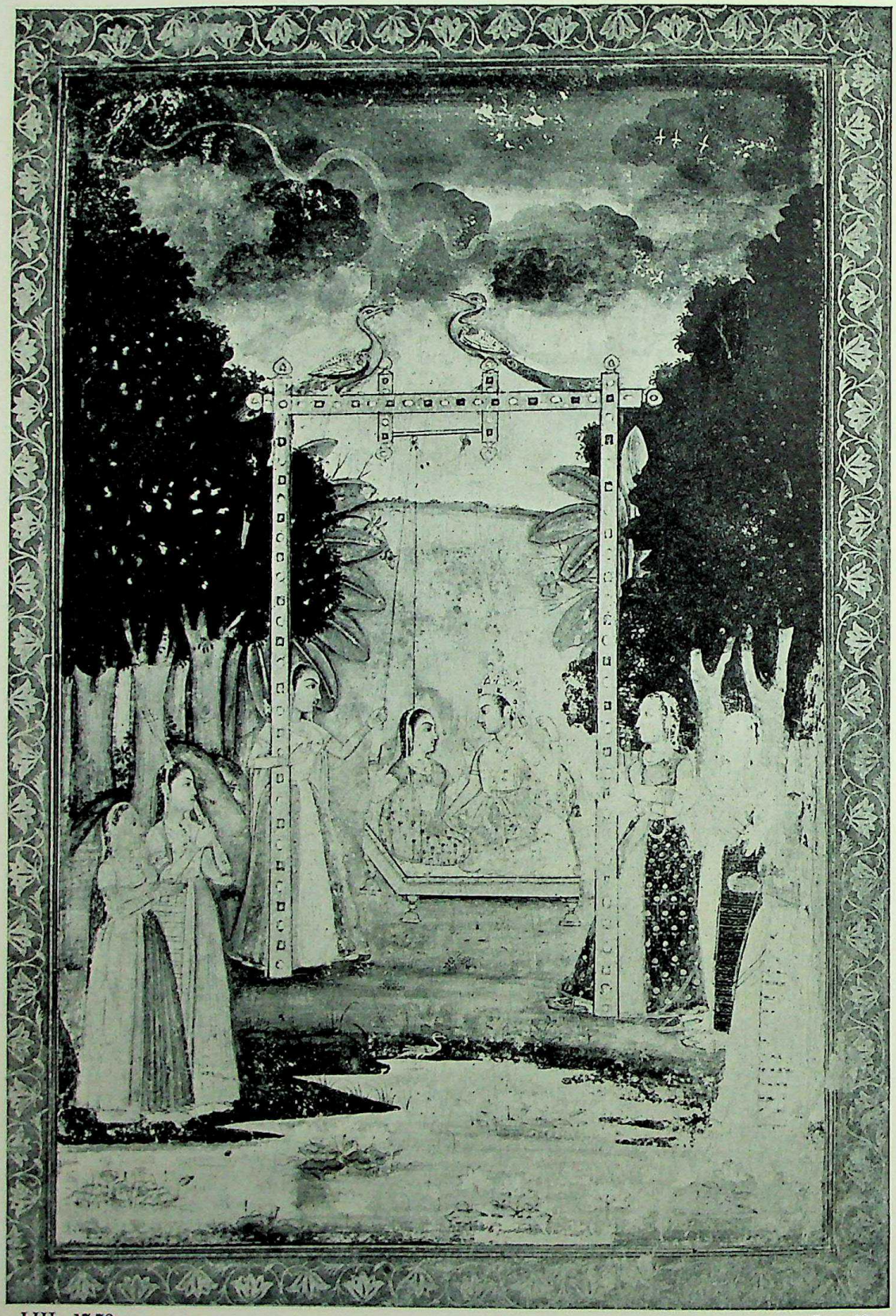
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXIV



LIII. 17.72

PAGE 93

HIṆḌOLA RĀGA

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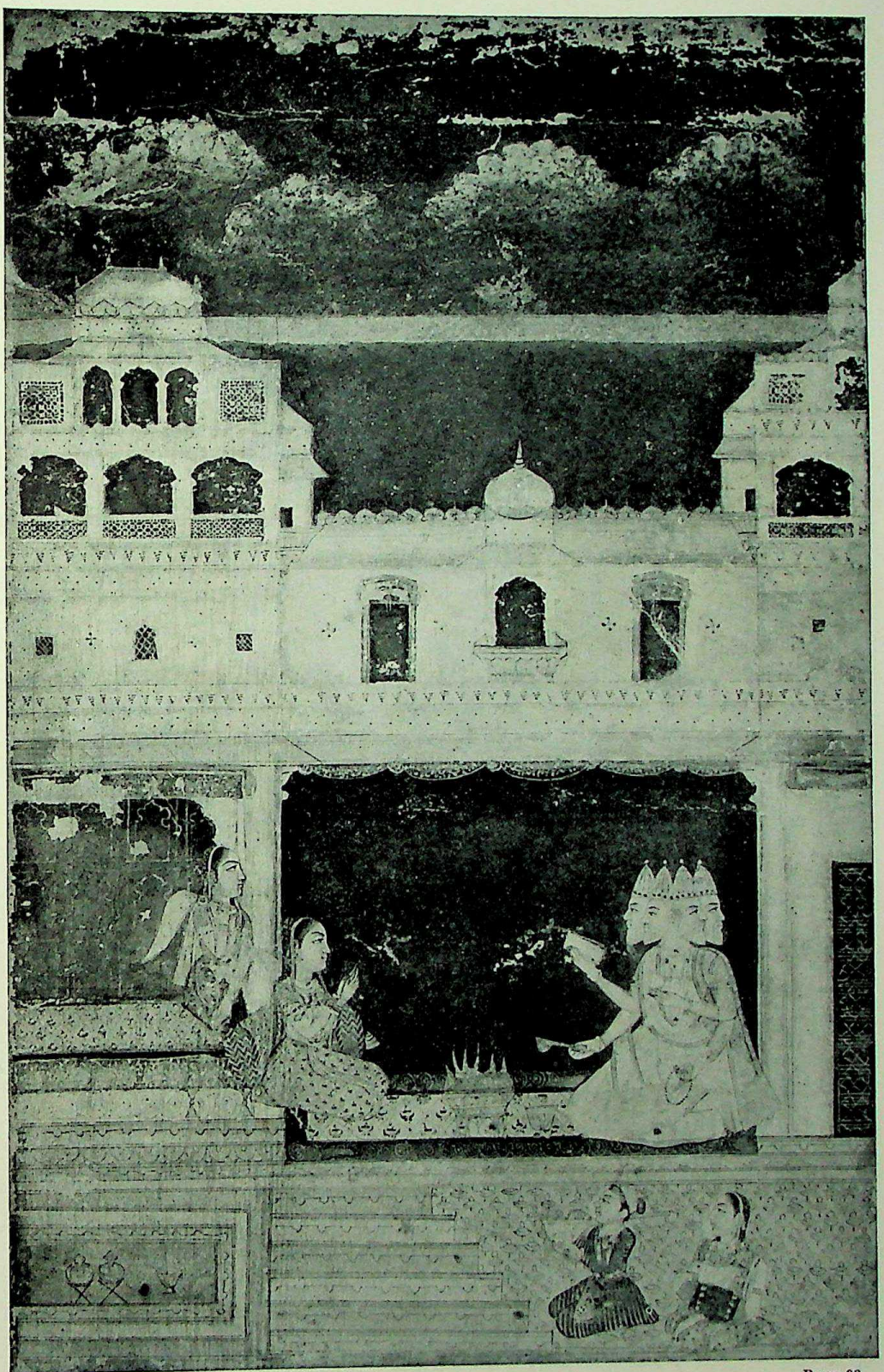


LIV. 17.2911

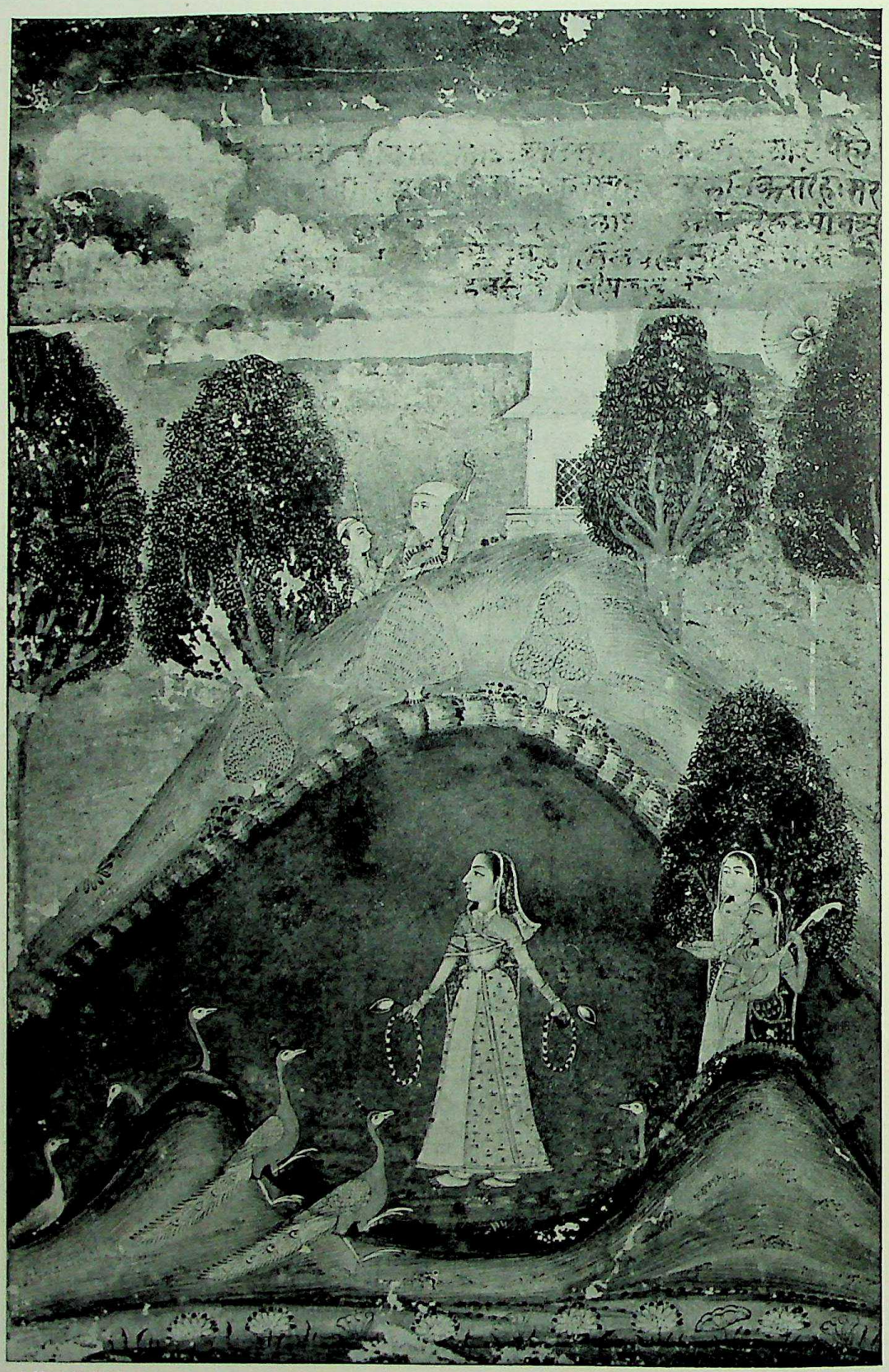
PAGE 03

KHAMBĀVATĪ RĀGIṆĪ

RĀJASTHĀNĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXVI



LV. 17.2912

PAGE 93

KAKUBHA RĀGIṆĪ

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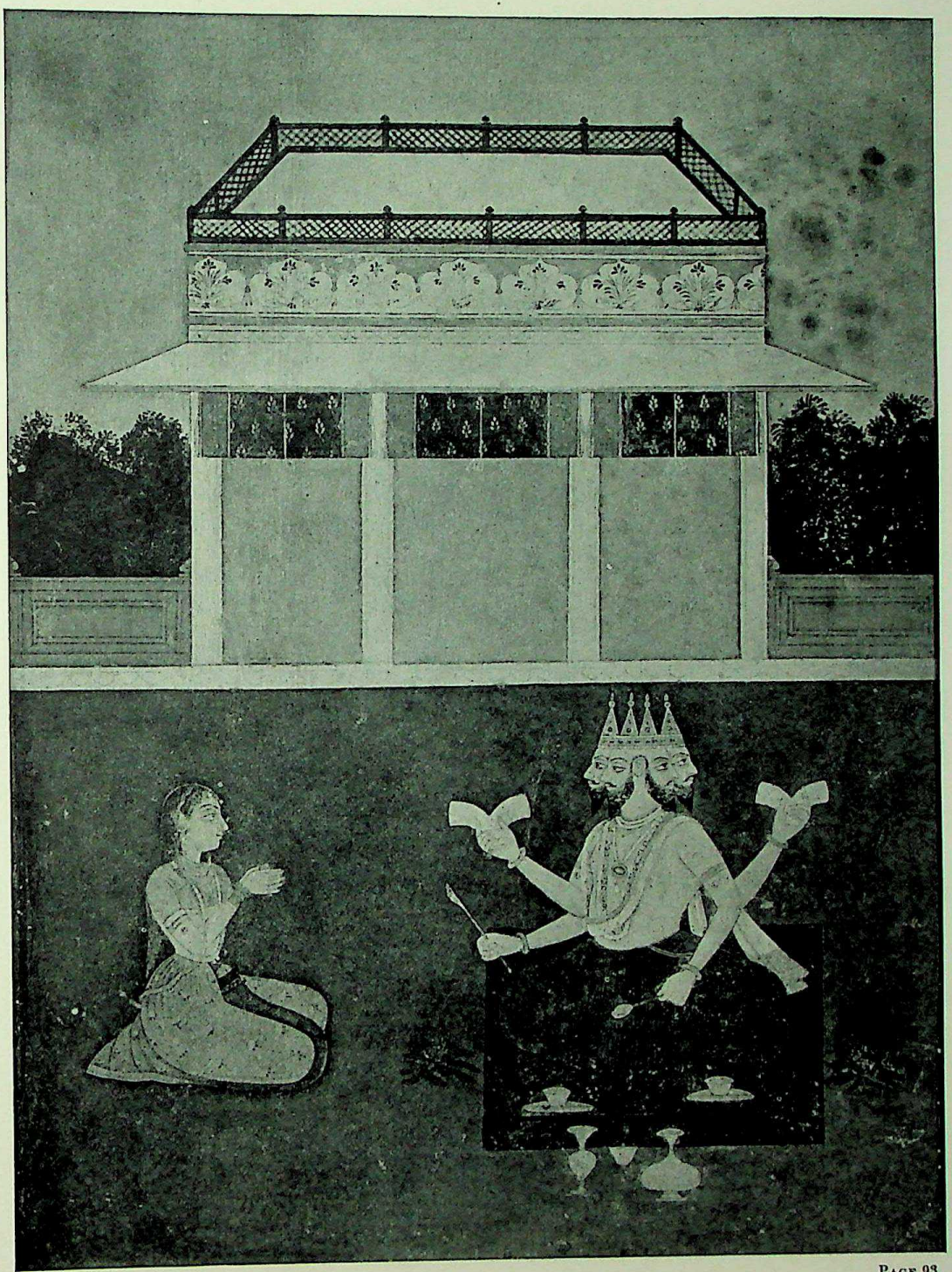

LVI. 17.2909

KHAMBĀVATĪ RĀGIṆĪ

RĀJASTHĀNĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XXVIII

LVII. 17.2910

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KAKUBHA RĀGIṆĪ

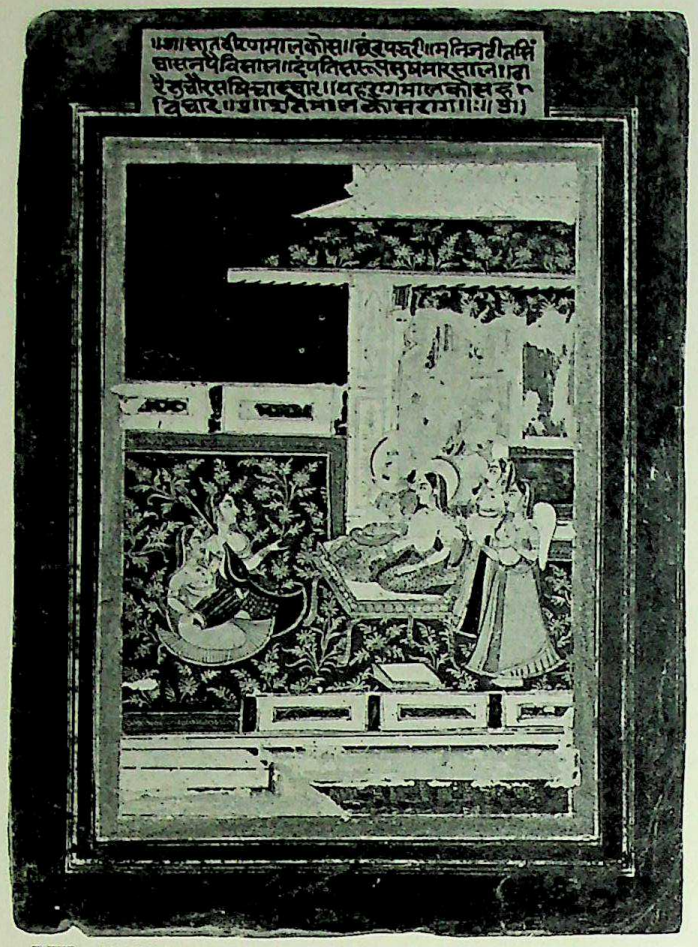
RĀJASTHĀNĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LVIII. 17.2913

ĀSĀVARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

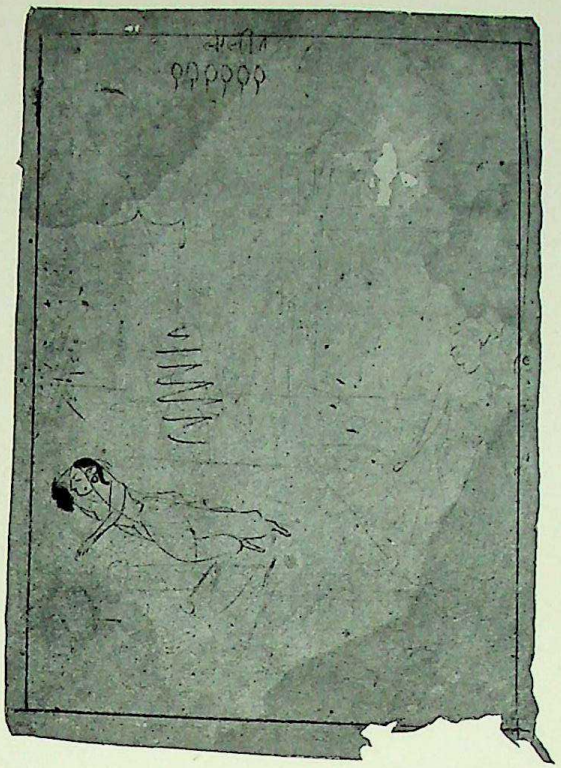
RĀJASTHĀNĪ



LIX. 17.2914 PAGE 94

MĀLKAUŚA RĀGA

RĀJASTHĀNĪ



LX. 17.3041 PAGE 95

LĀLĪTĀ RĀGIṆĪ

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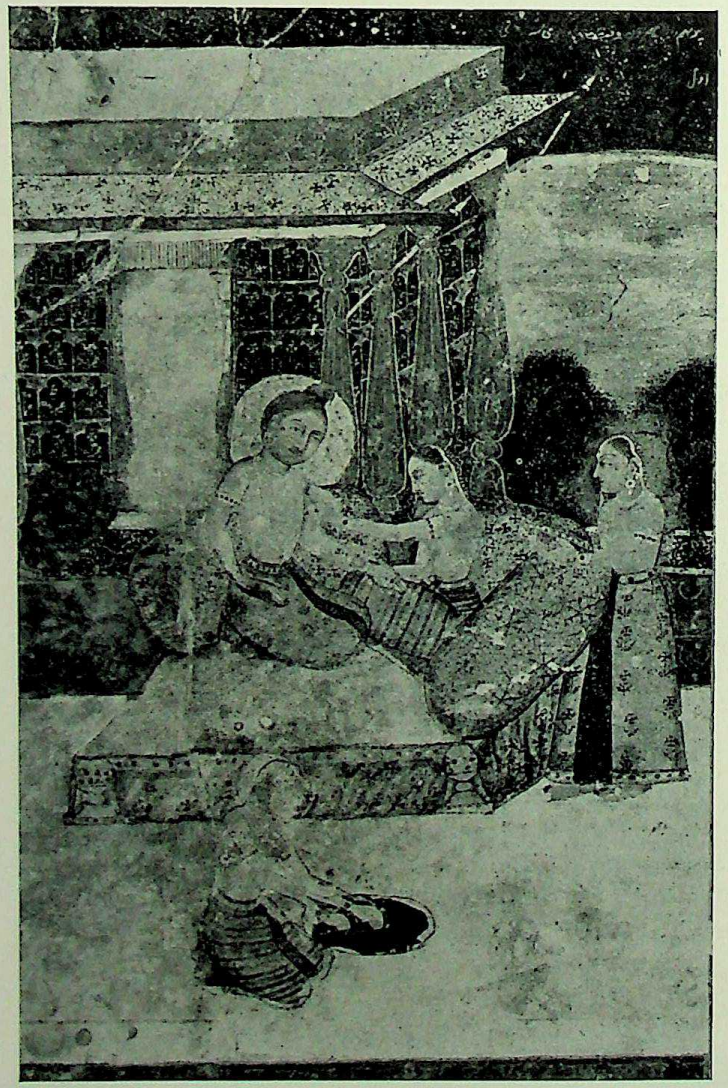
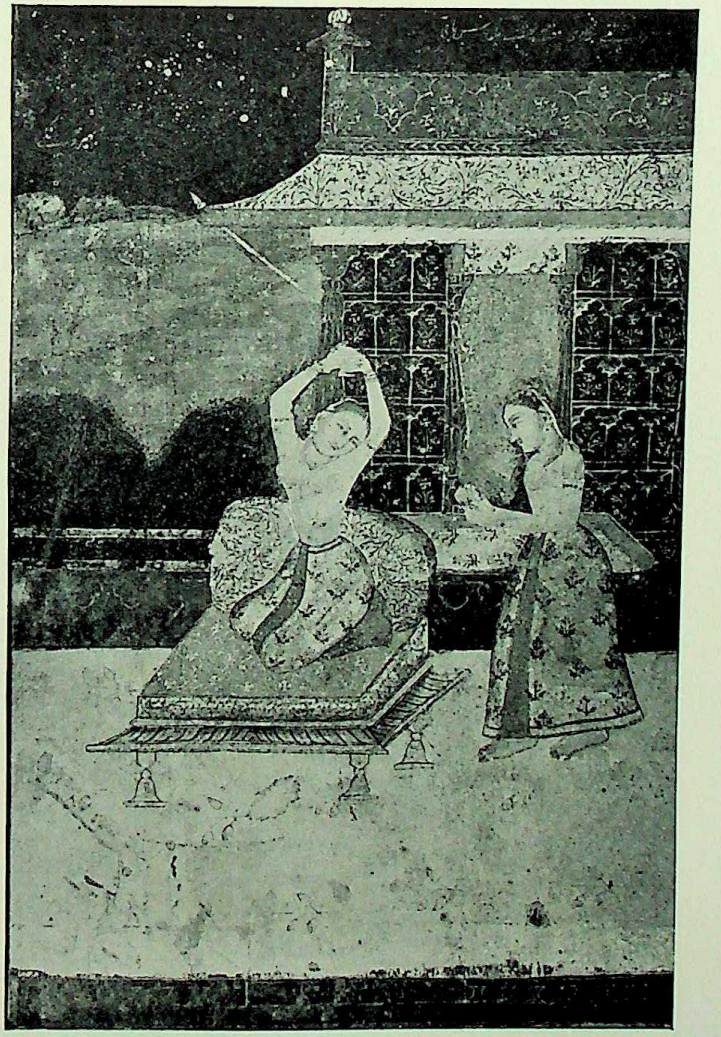


LXV. 17.71 PAGE 95

BHAIRAVA RĀGA



LXVI. 17.69 PAGE 96

VARĀRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

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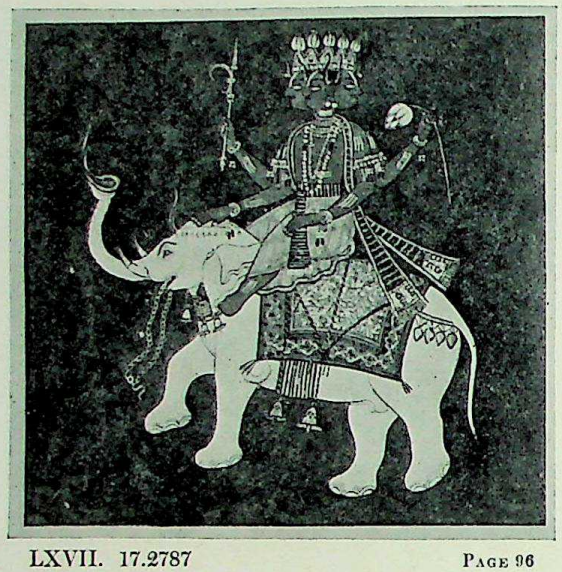
Plate XXXII



LXVII. 17.2787 Page 96

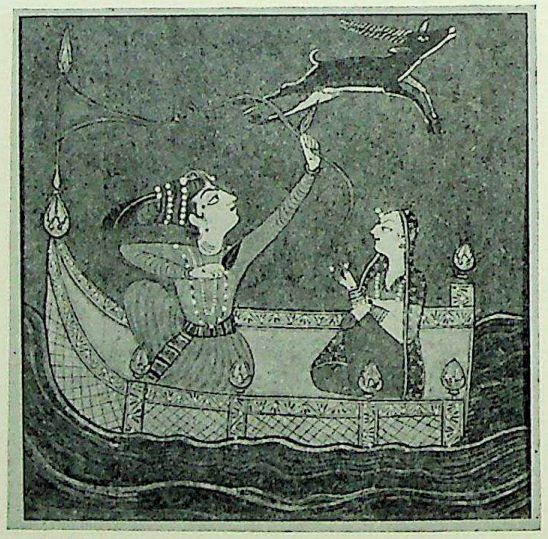
Dīpaka Rāga

LXX. 17.2791 Page 97

Rāmakalī Rāgiṇī

LXVIII. 17.2789 Page 96

Devagandhārī Rāgiṇī



LXIX. 17.2790 Page 97

Gambhīra Raga

Pahāṛī, Jamū

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LXXI. 17.3199 PAGE 97

GUJARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

LXXIII. 17.2788 PAGE 98

BHAMARĀNANDA RĀGA

LXXII. 17.3116 PAGE 98

DEVAGĪRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

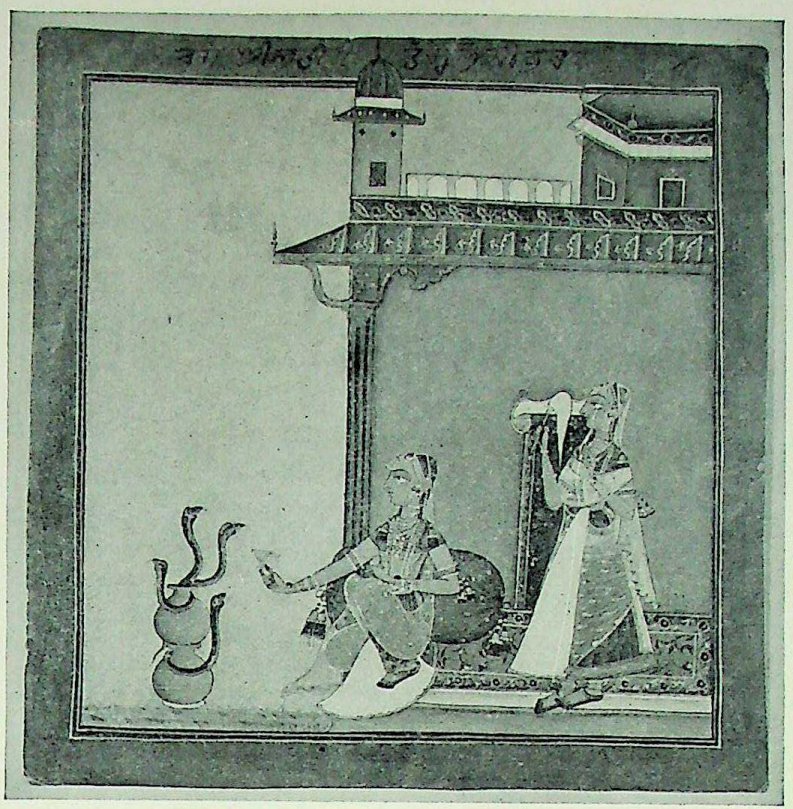
LXXIV. 17.3200 PAGE 98

GUJARĪ RĀGIṆĪ

PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

LXXV. 17.3218 PAGE 98

DEVAGĪRĪ RĀGIṆĪ



LXXVI. 17.3219 PAGE 99

AHĪRĪ RĀGIṆĪ

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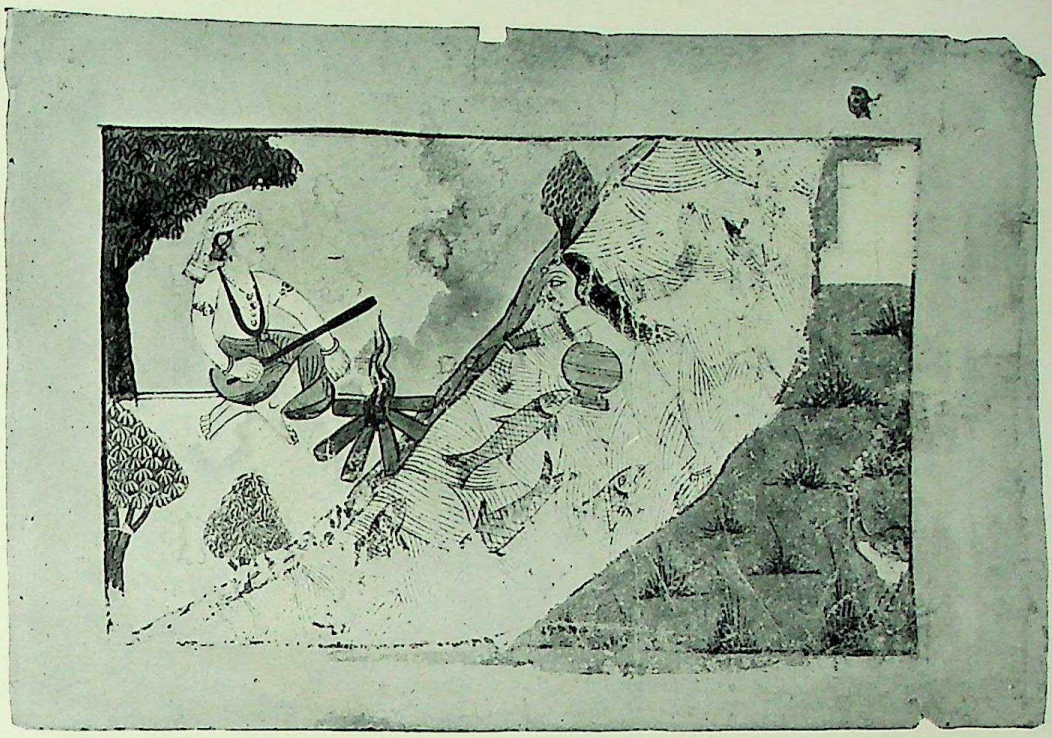


CXLIX. 17.2625

PAGE 118

SOHNĪ-MAHĪWĀL

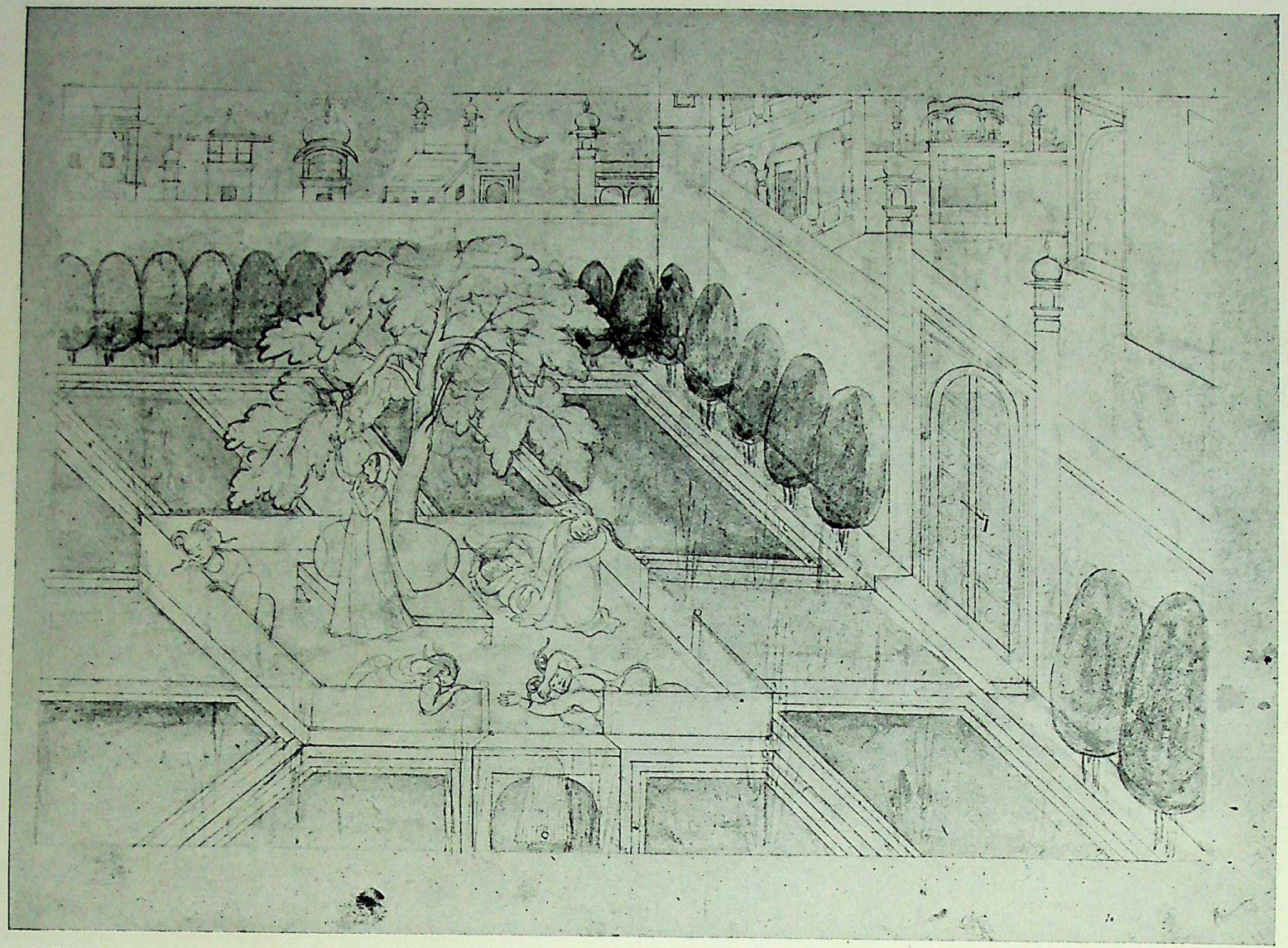
PAÑJĀB

XCII. 26.3

PAGE 102

MĀLATĪ-MADHU

RĀJASTHĀNĪ



XCV. 17.2435

PAGE 105

RĀMĀYAṆA: SĪTĀ IN THE AŚOKA GARDEN

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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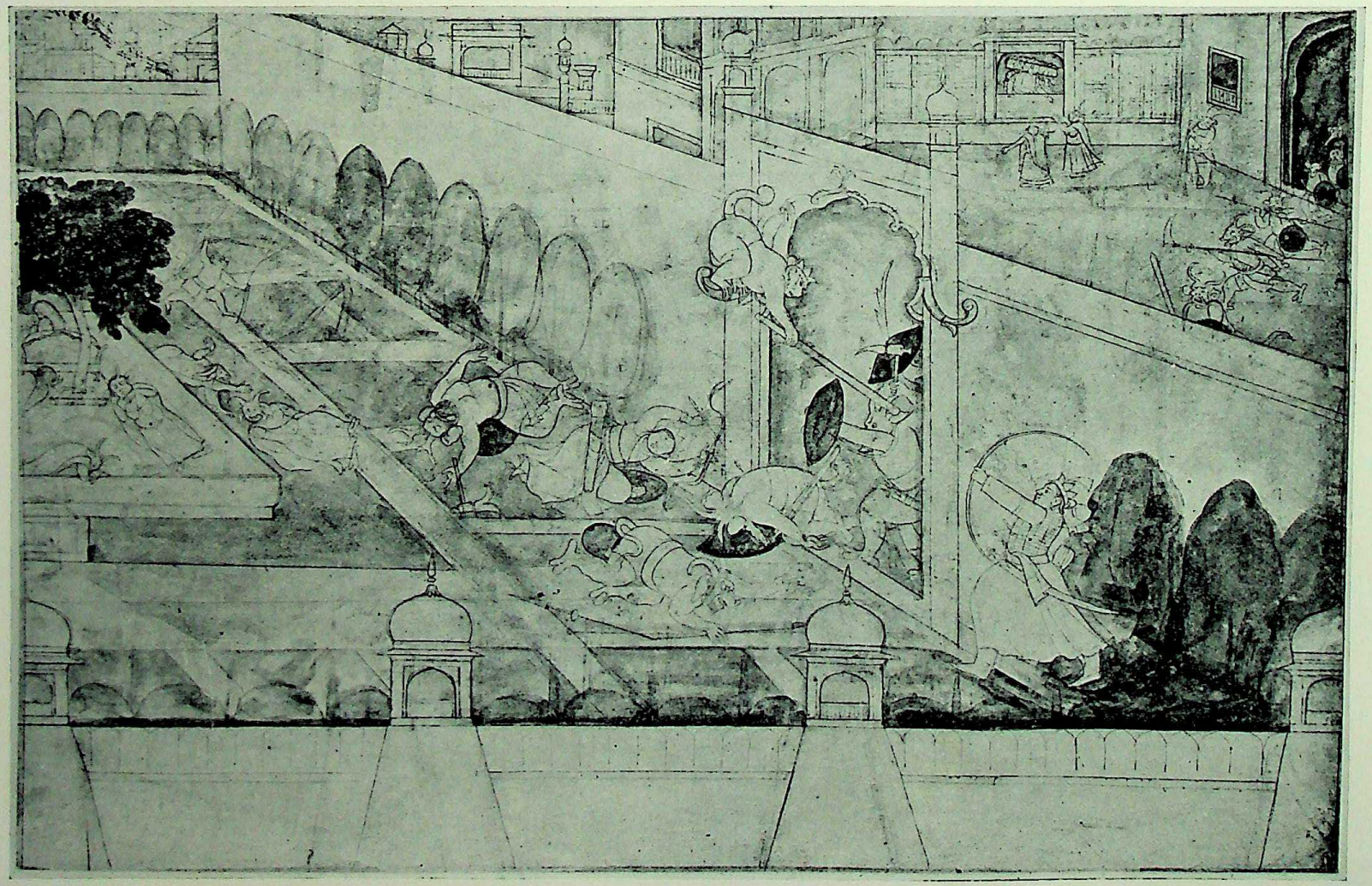

XCVI. 17.2436

PAGE 105

RĀMĀYAṆA: HANUMAN ASSAULTS THE GUARDS

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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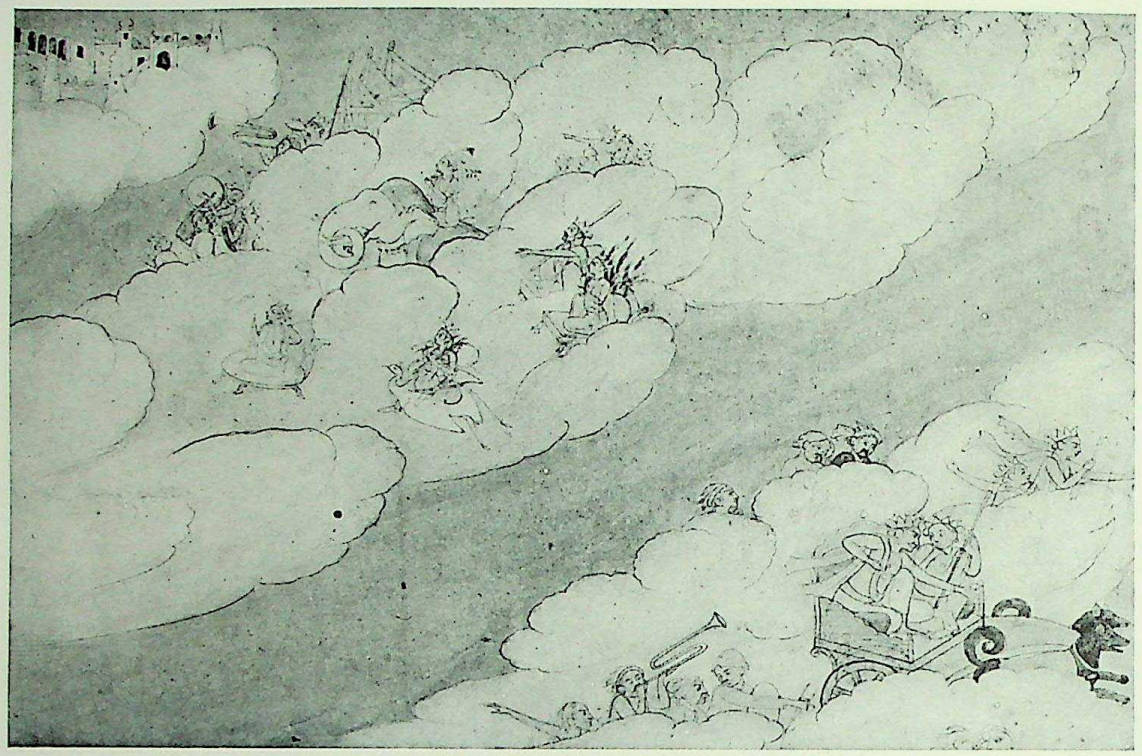
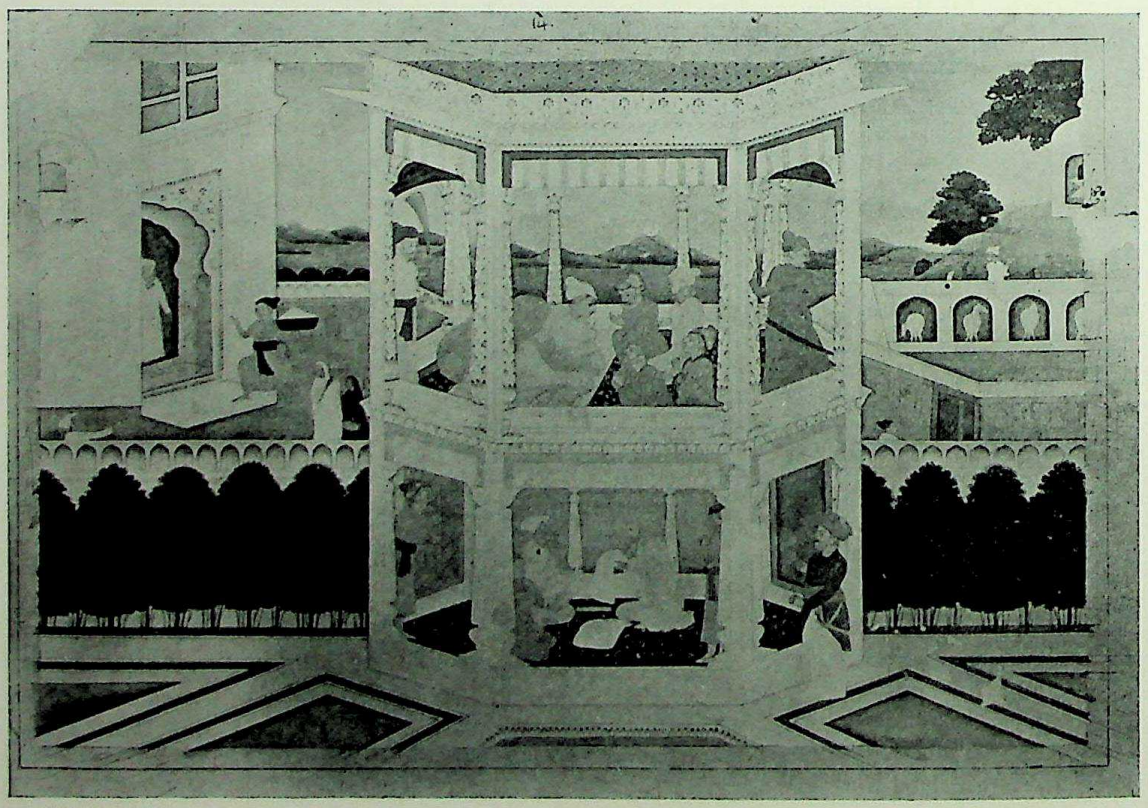
Plate XXXVIII



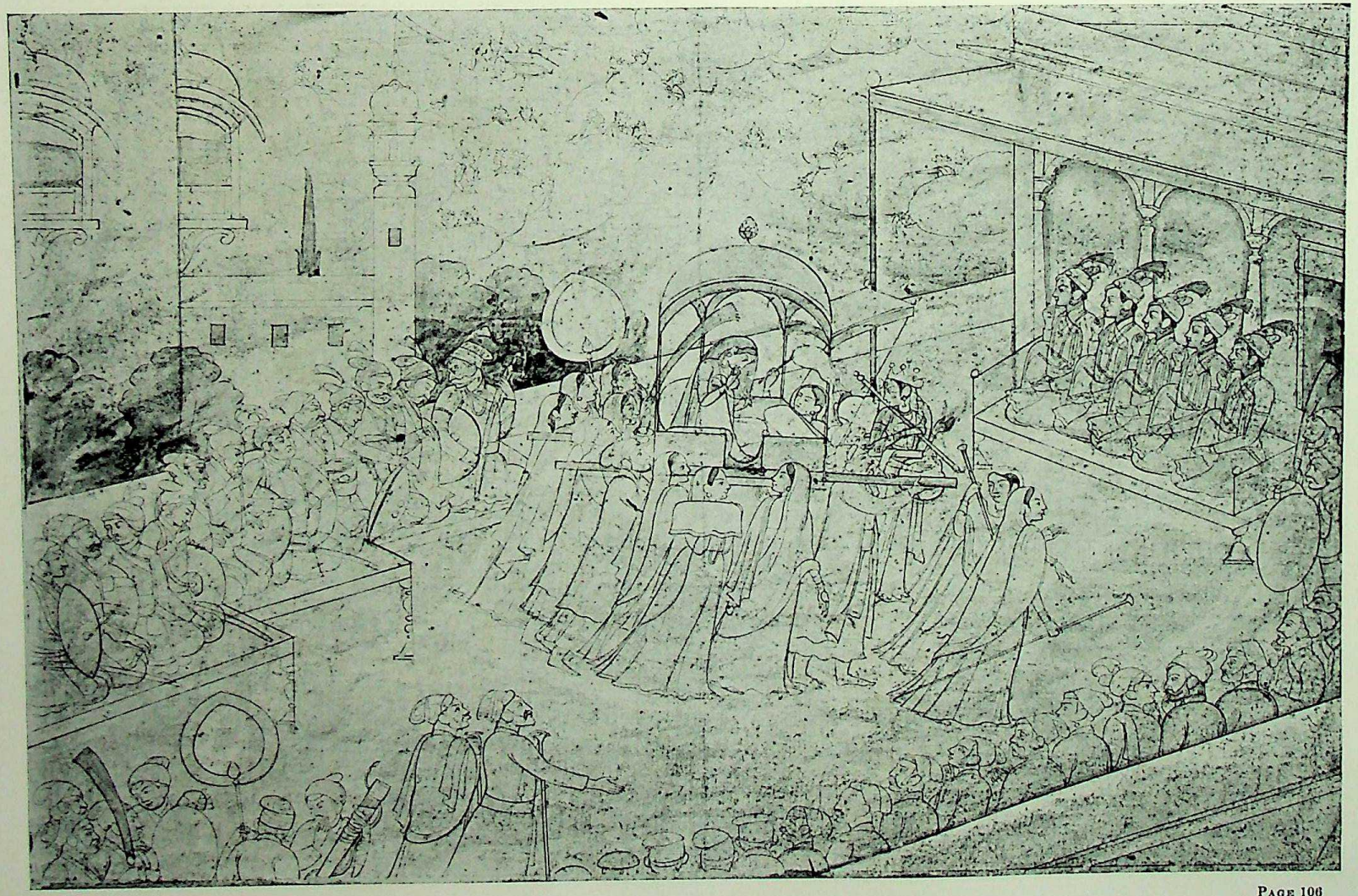
Cl. 17.2392 Page 106



CII. 17.2393 Page 106

Nala-Damayantī Series

Pahāṛī, Kāṅgṛā



CIII. 17.2394

PAGE 106

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES: SVAYAṀVARA OF DAMAYANTĪ

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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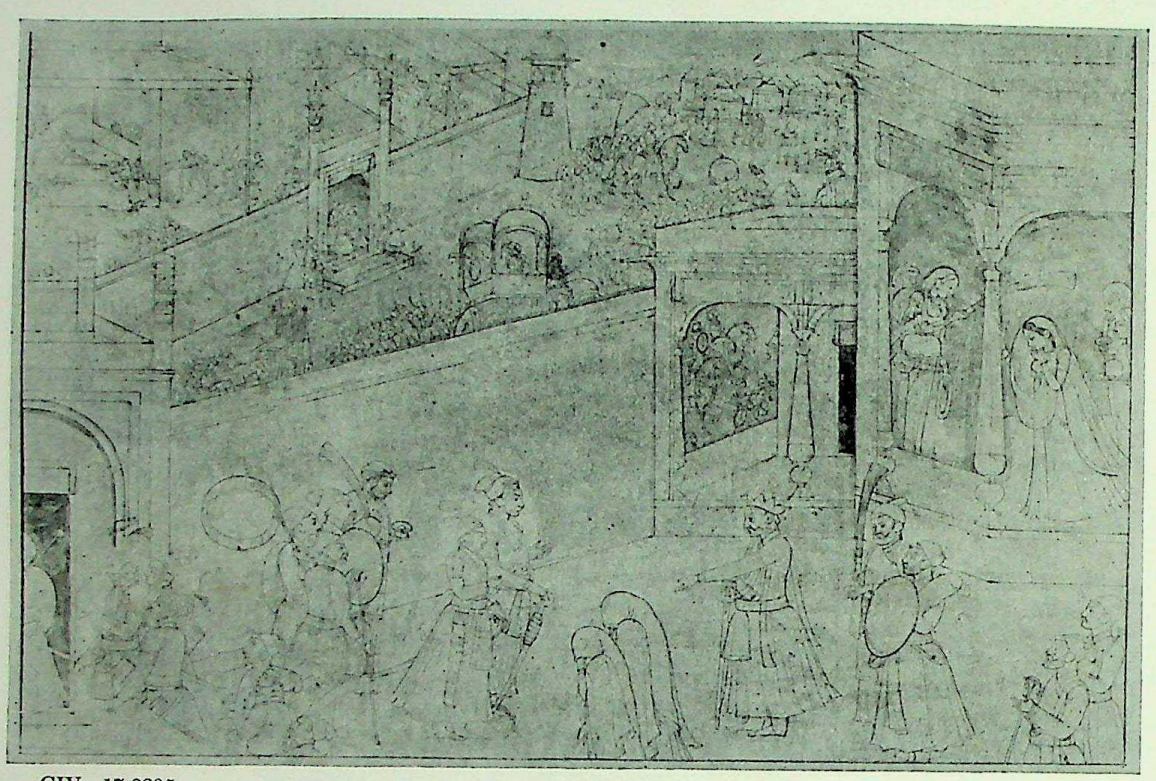
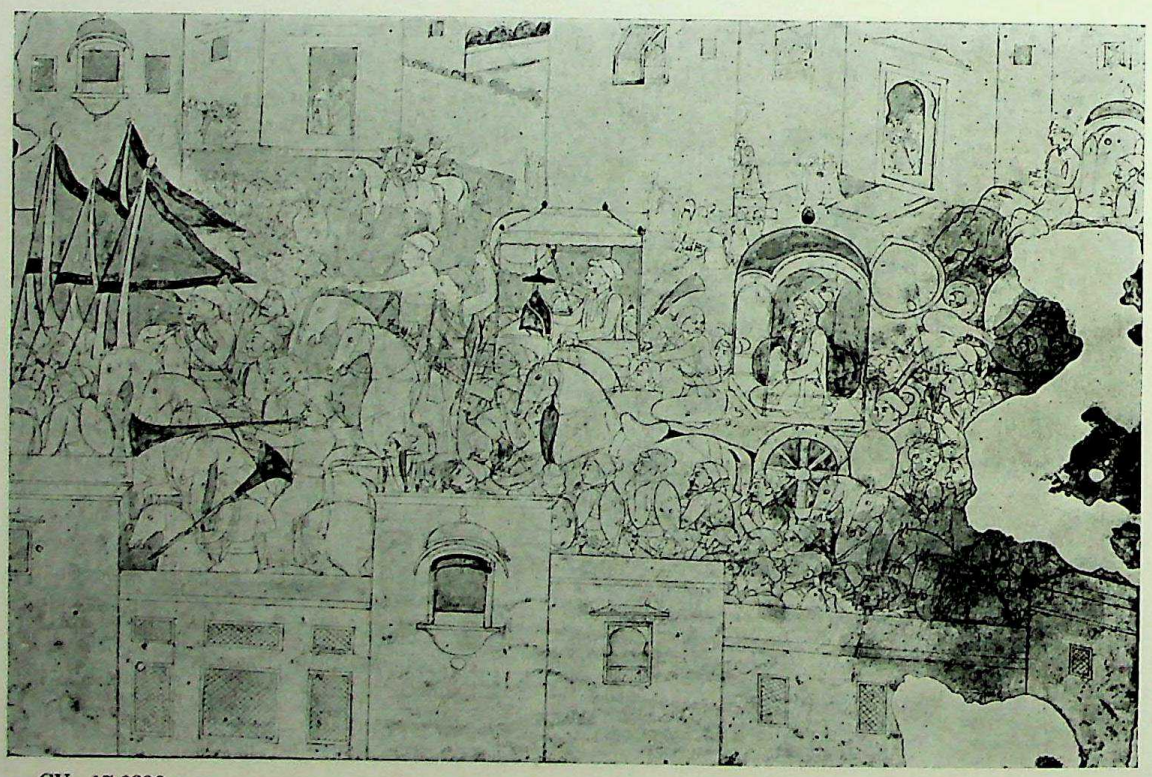


CIV. 17.2395

PAGE 107



CV. 17.2396

PAGE 107

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

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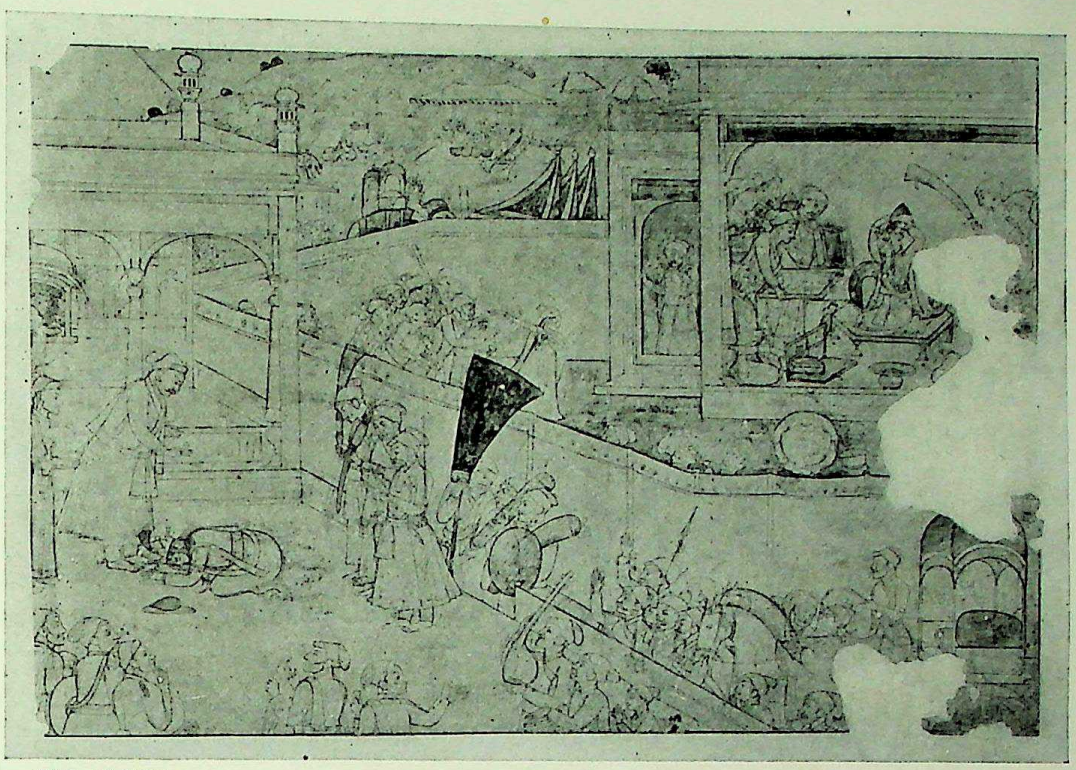

CVI. 17.2397 PAGE 107

CVII. 17.2398 PAGE 107

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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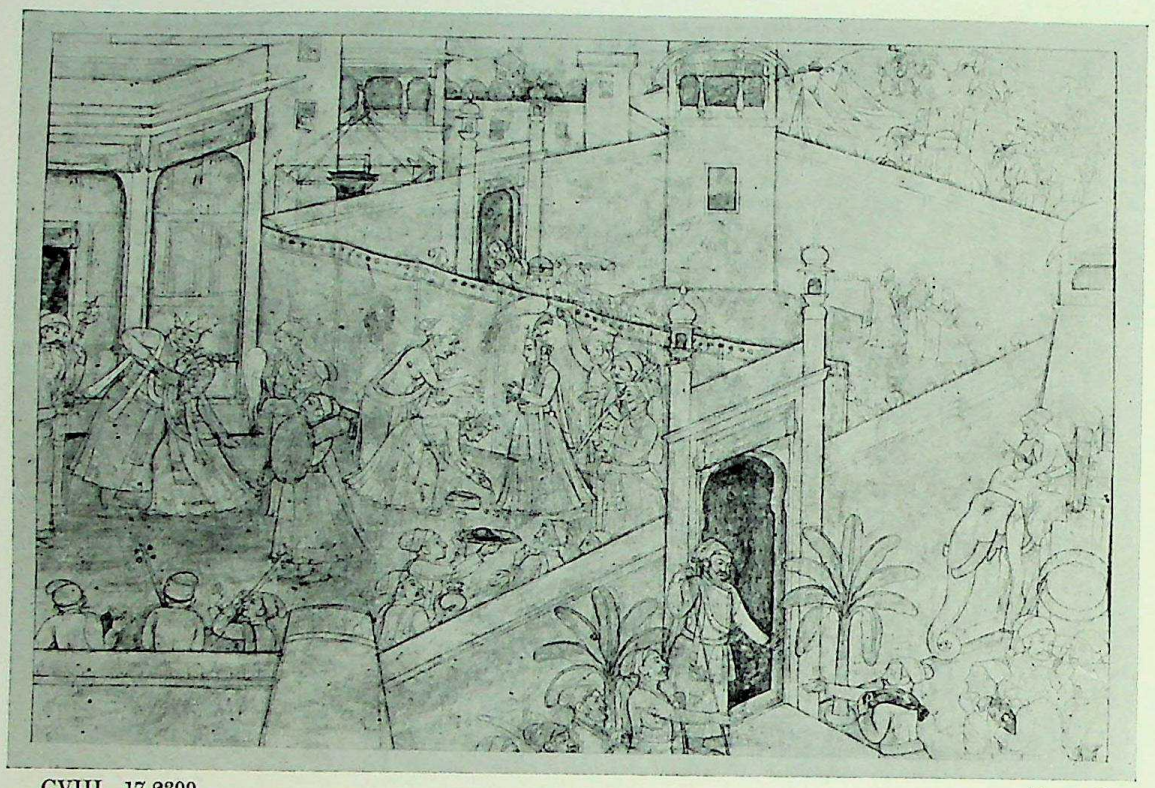
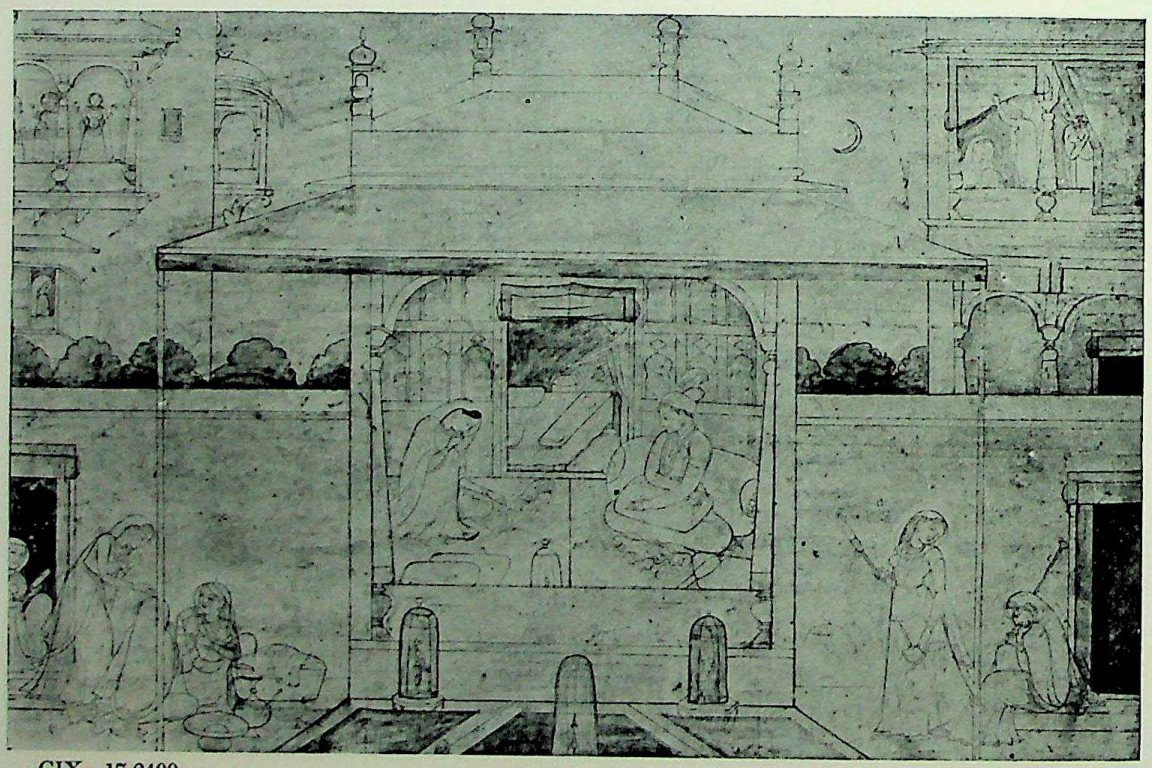


CVIII. 17.2399

PAGE 108



CIX. 17.2400

PAGE 108

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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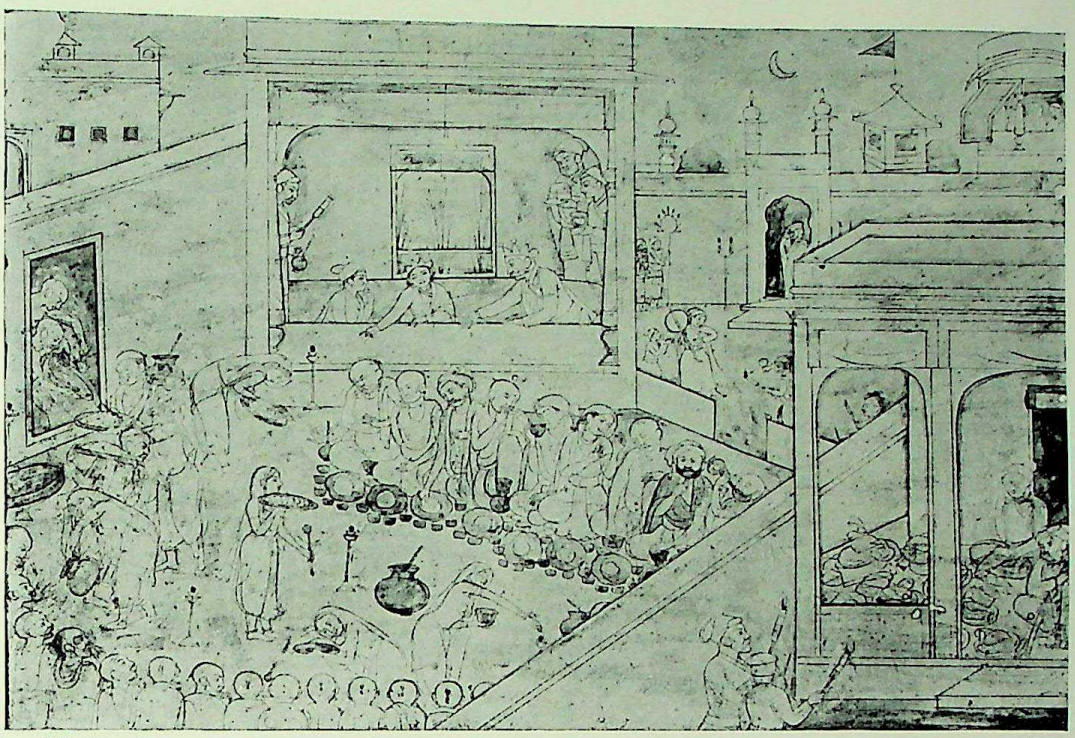
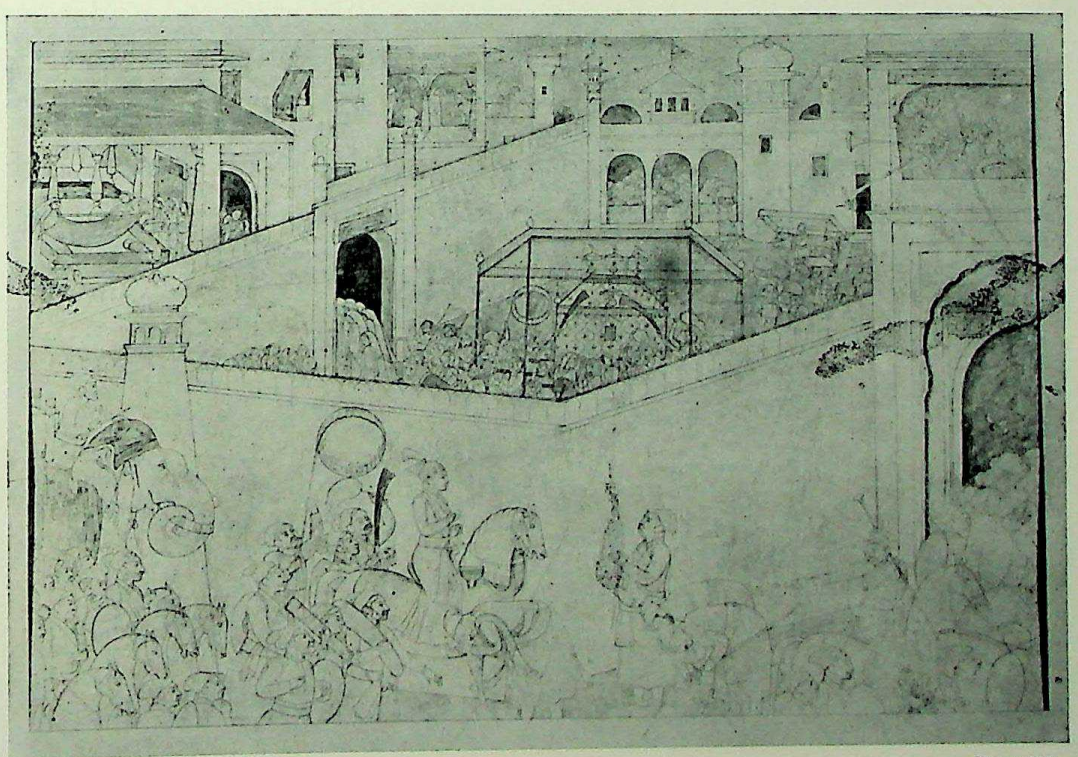


CX. 17.2401 PAGE 108



CXI. 17.2402 PAGE 108

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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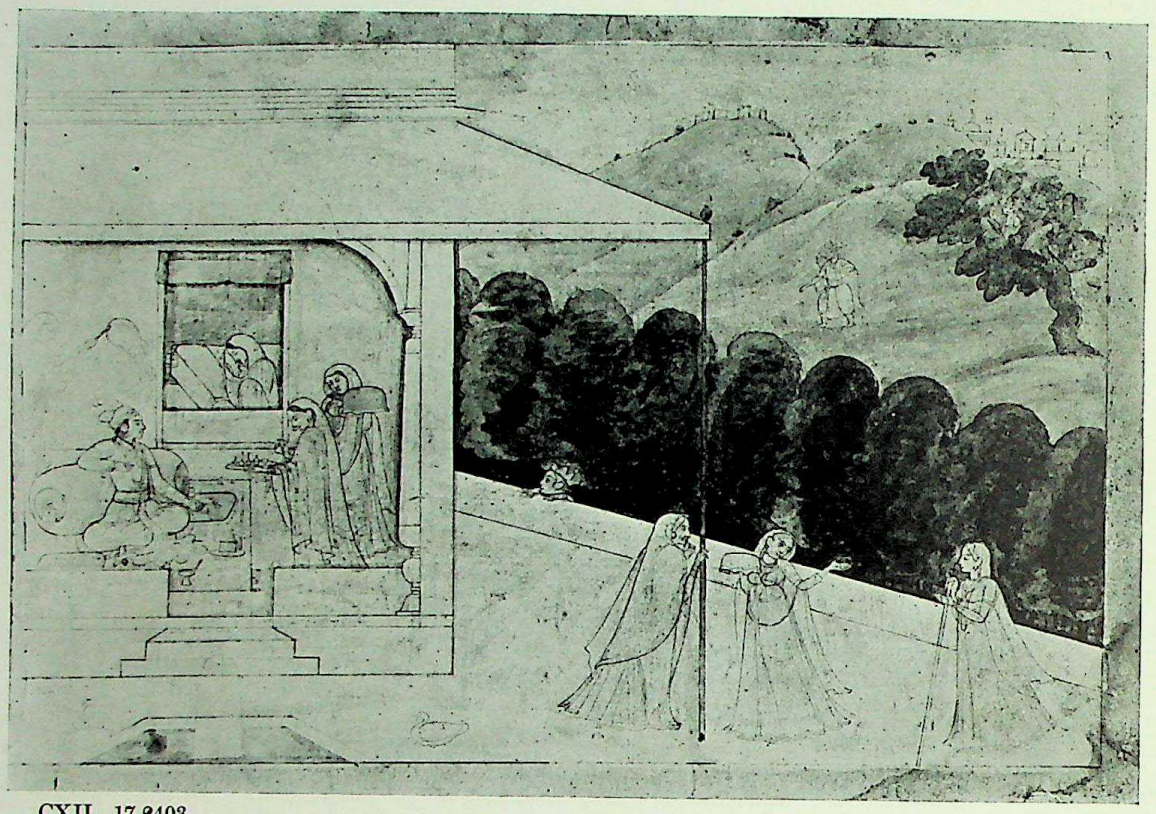
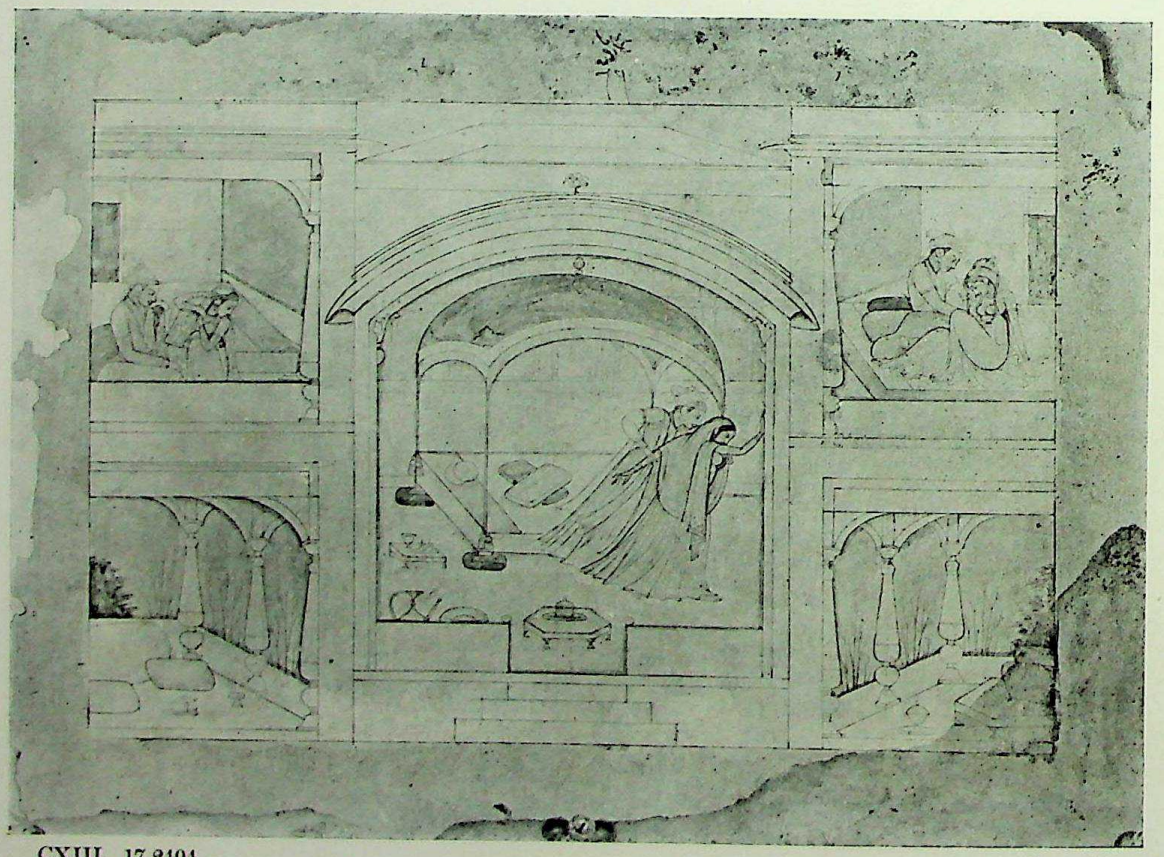


CXII. 17.2403

PAGE 109



CXIII. 17.2404

PAGE 109

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

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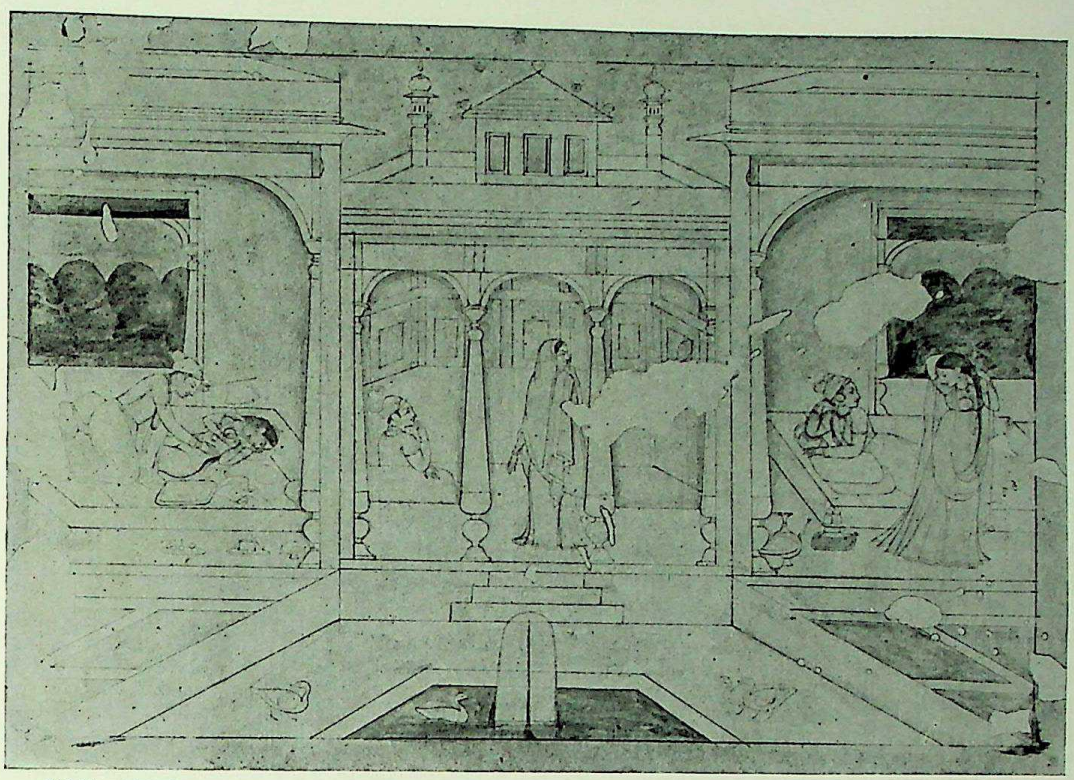
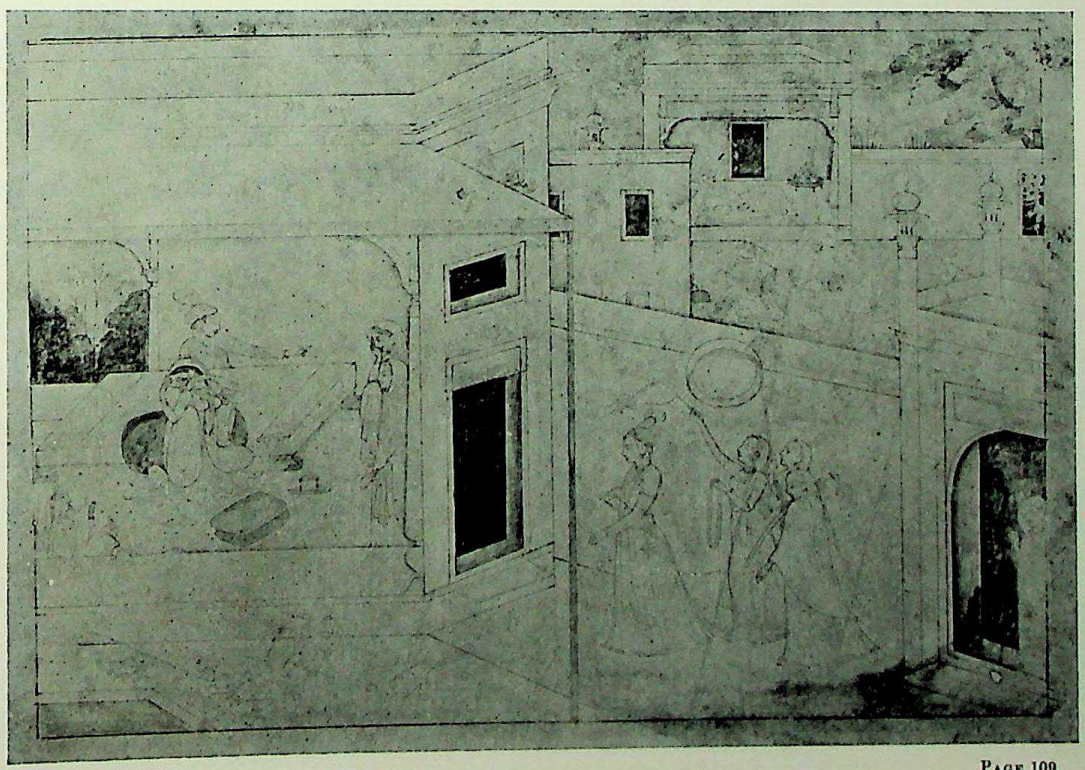


CXIV. 17.2405 PAGE 109



CXV. 17.2406 PAGE 109

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

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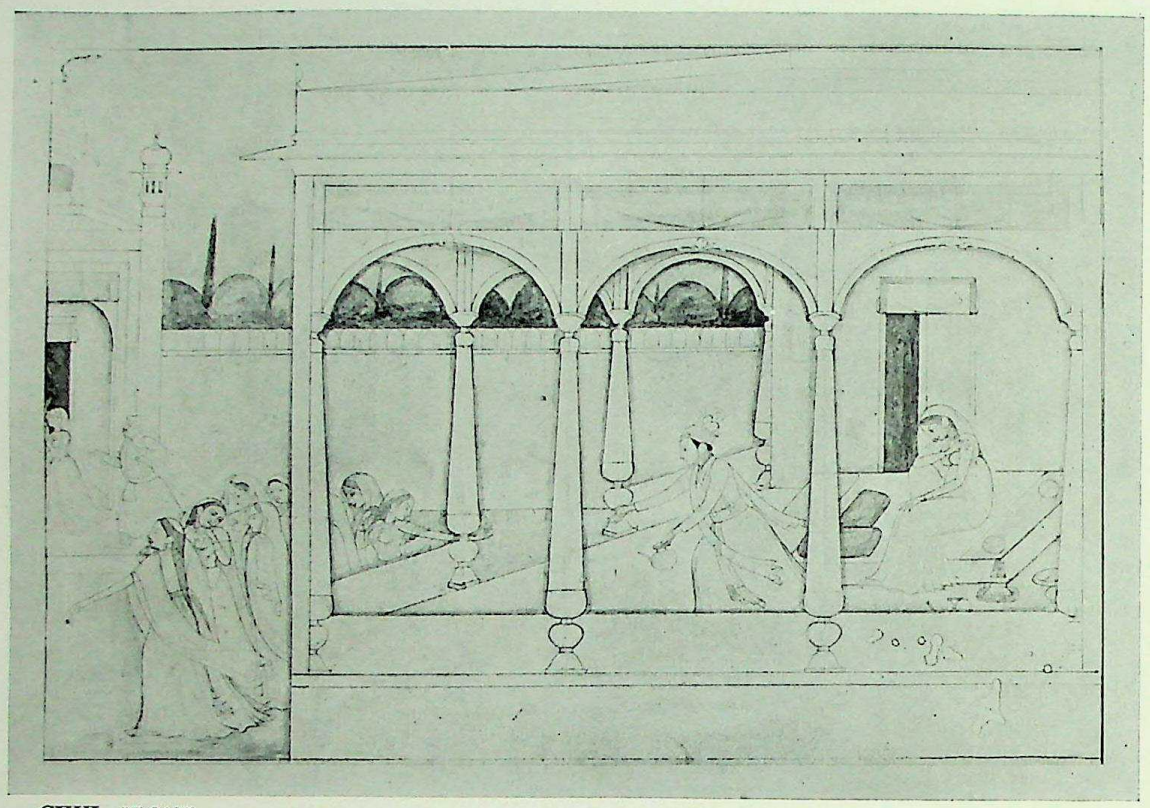
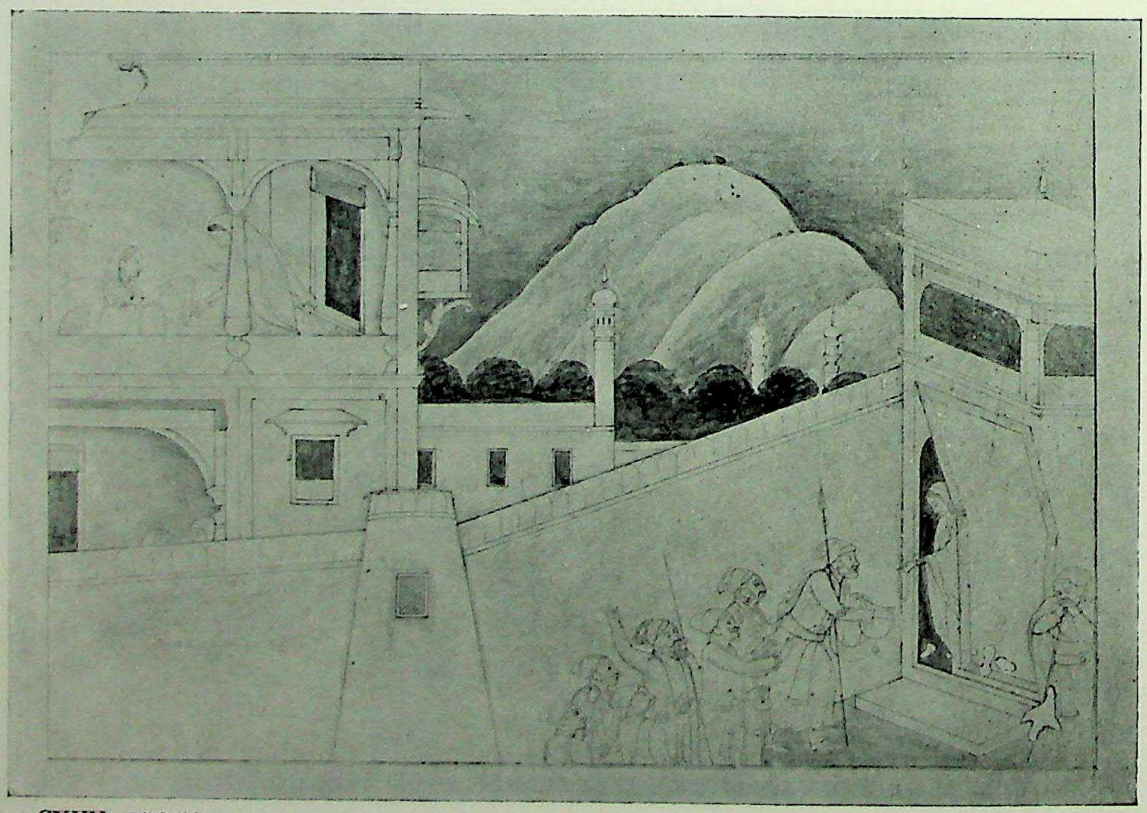


CXVI. 17.2407

PAGE 110



CXVII. 17.2408

PAGE 110

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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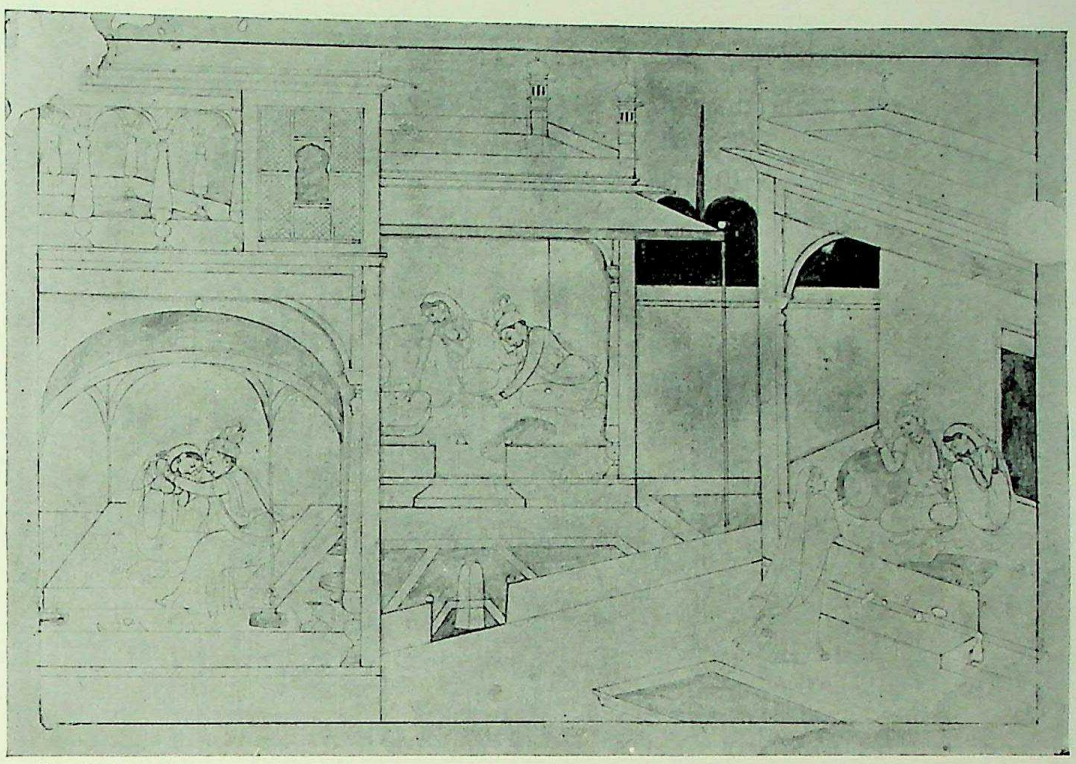
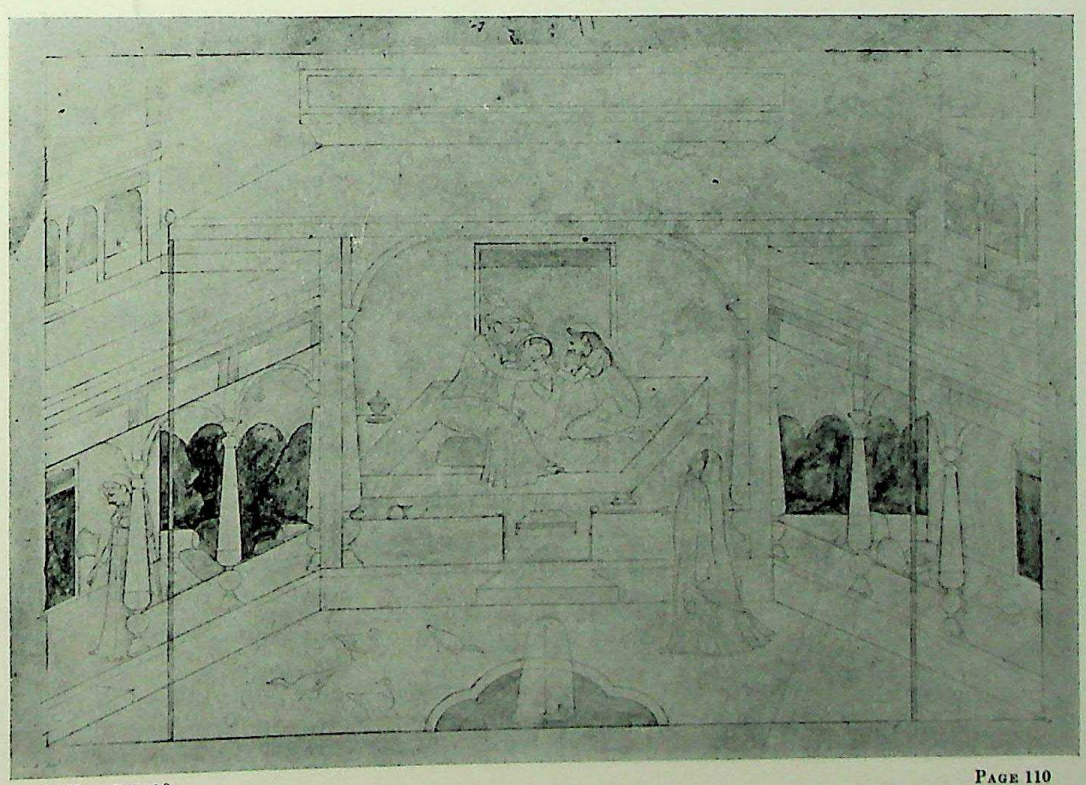


CVIII. 17.2409 PAGE 110



CIX. 17.2410 PAGE 110

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

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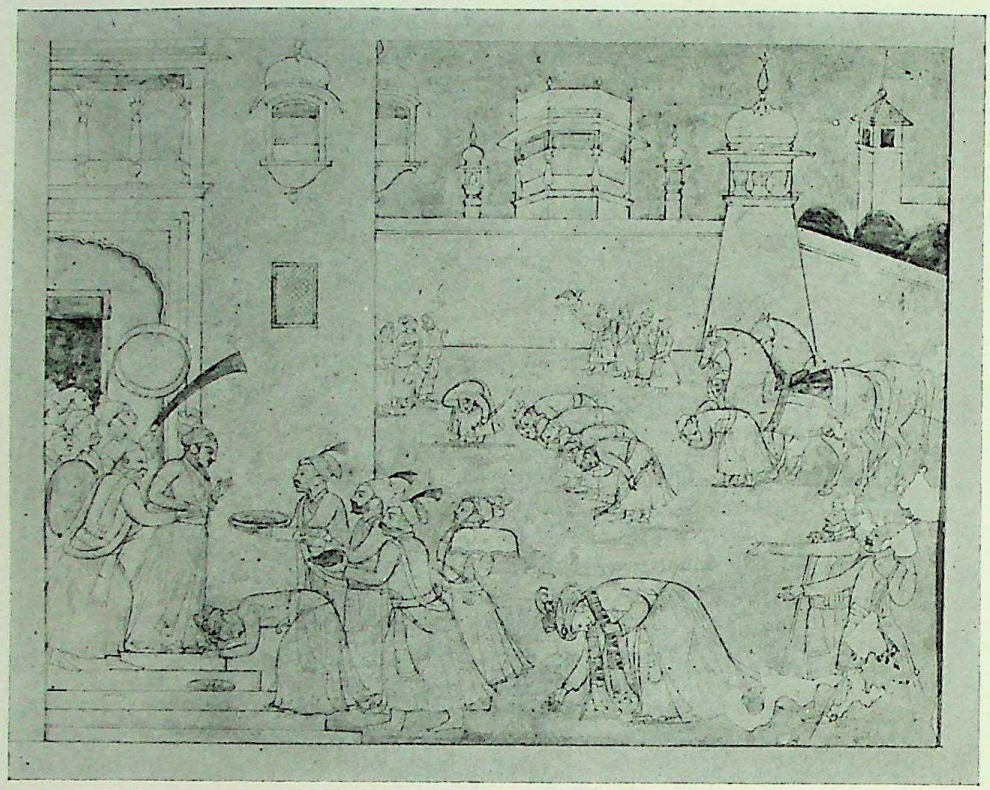
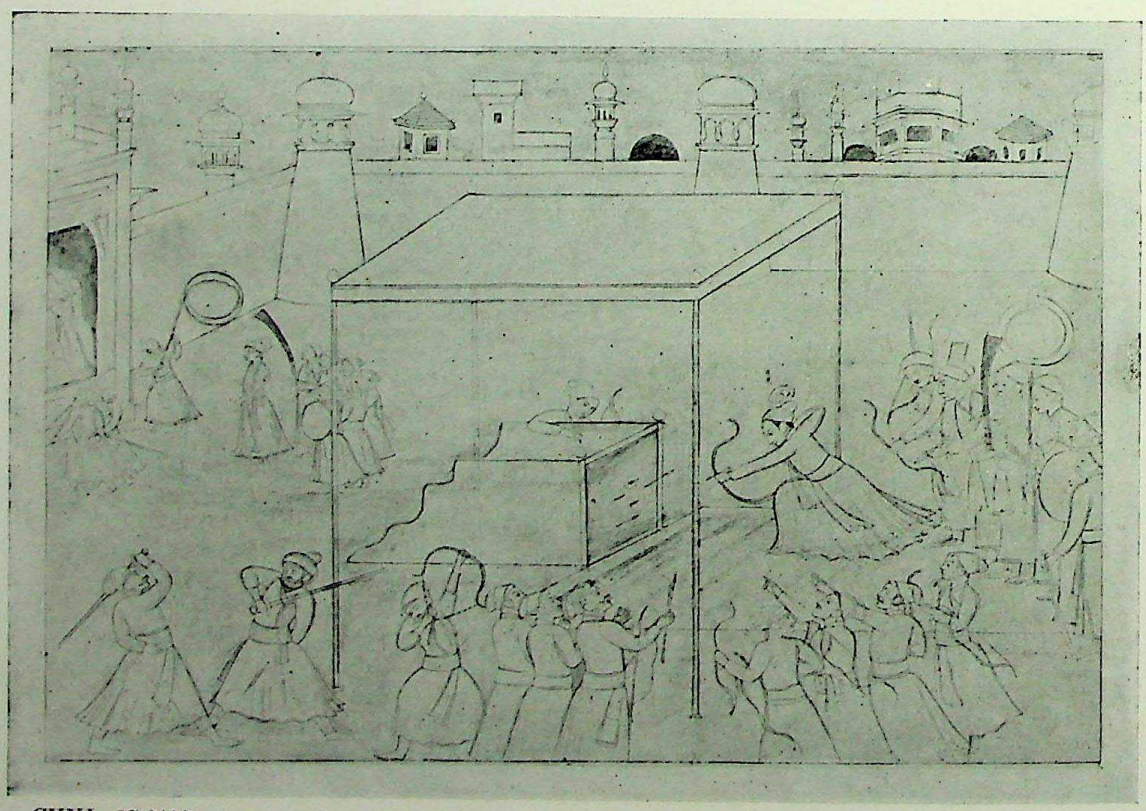


CXX. 17.2411 PAGE 110

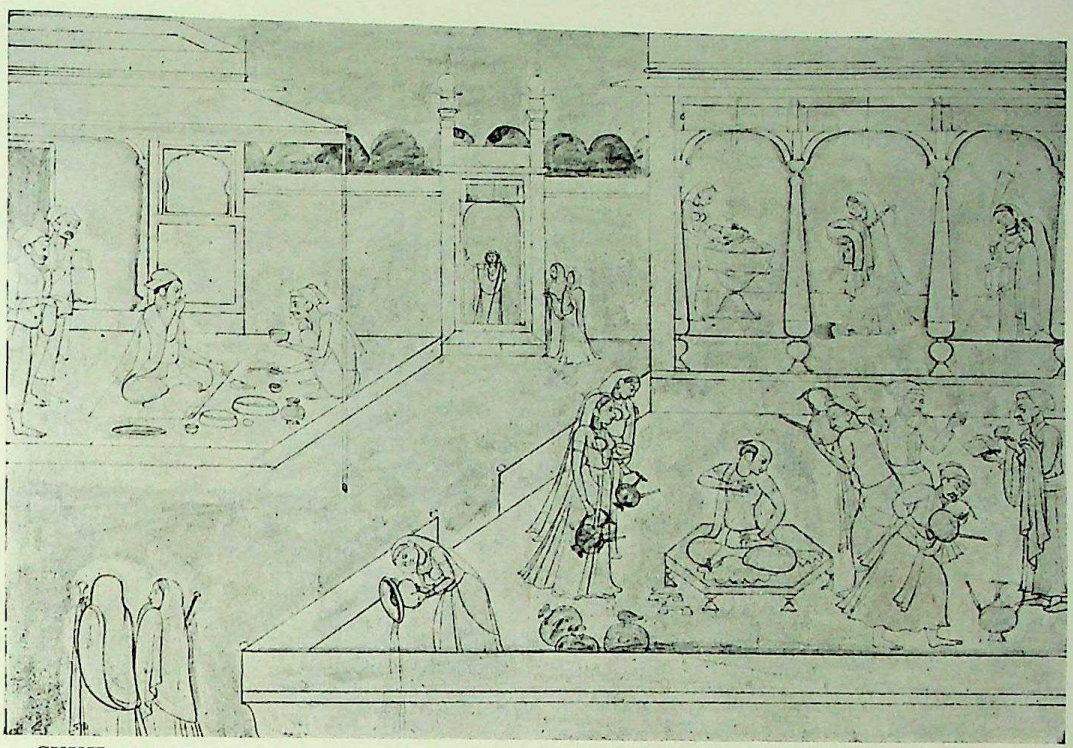


CXXI. 17.2412 PAGE 111

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

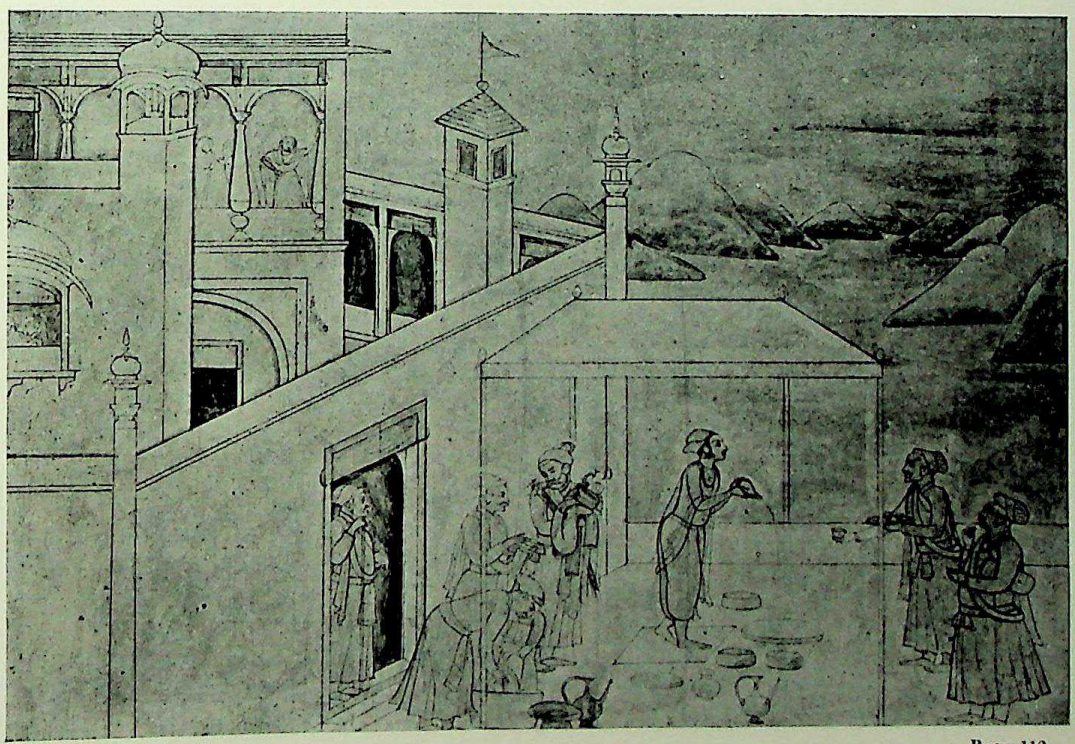
PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CXXII. 17.2413

PAGE 111



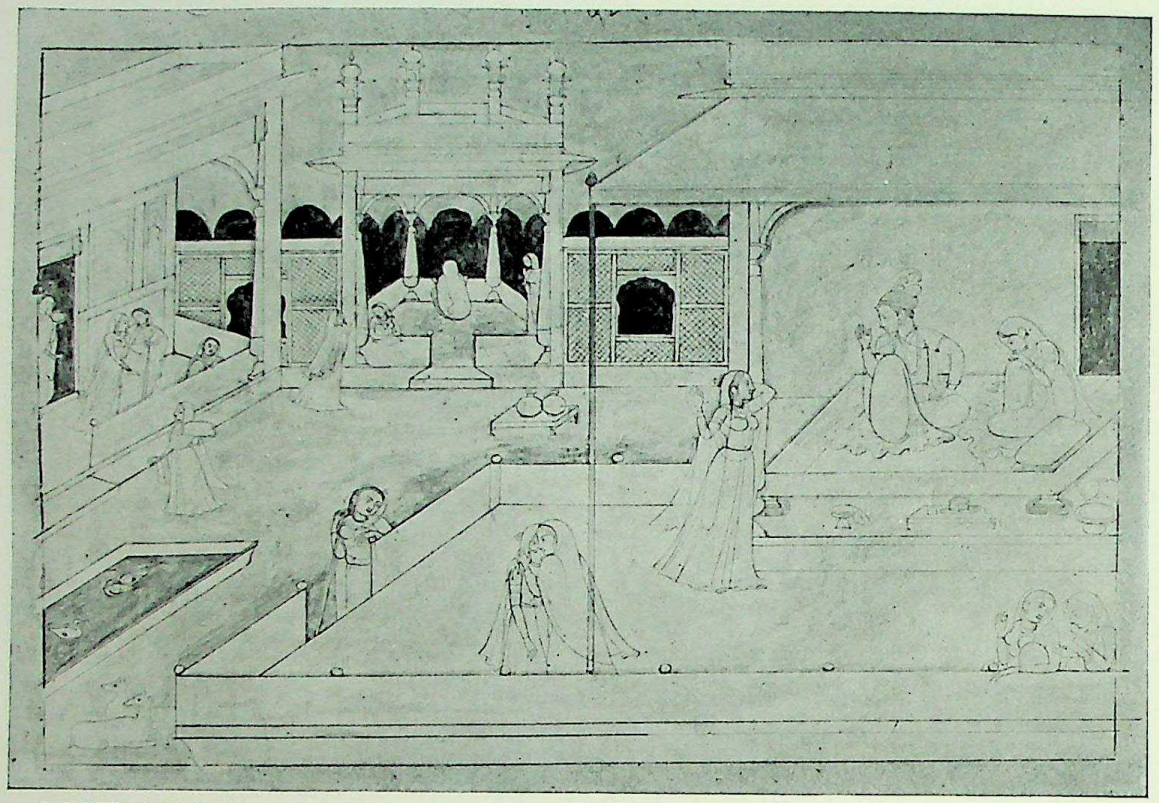
CXXVII. 17.2418

PAGE 112

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

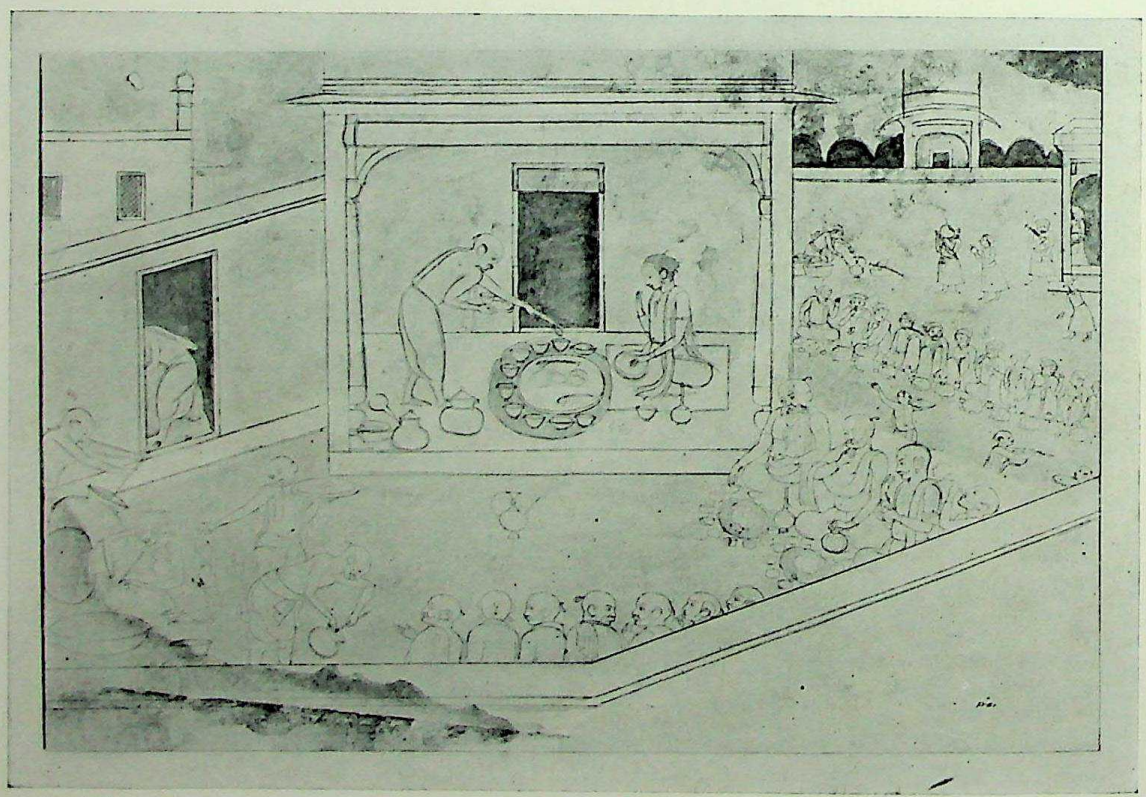
PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CXXIII. 17.2414

PAGE 111



CXXIV. 17.2415

PAGE 112

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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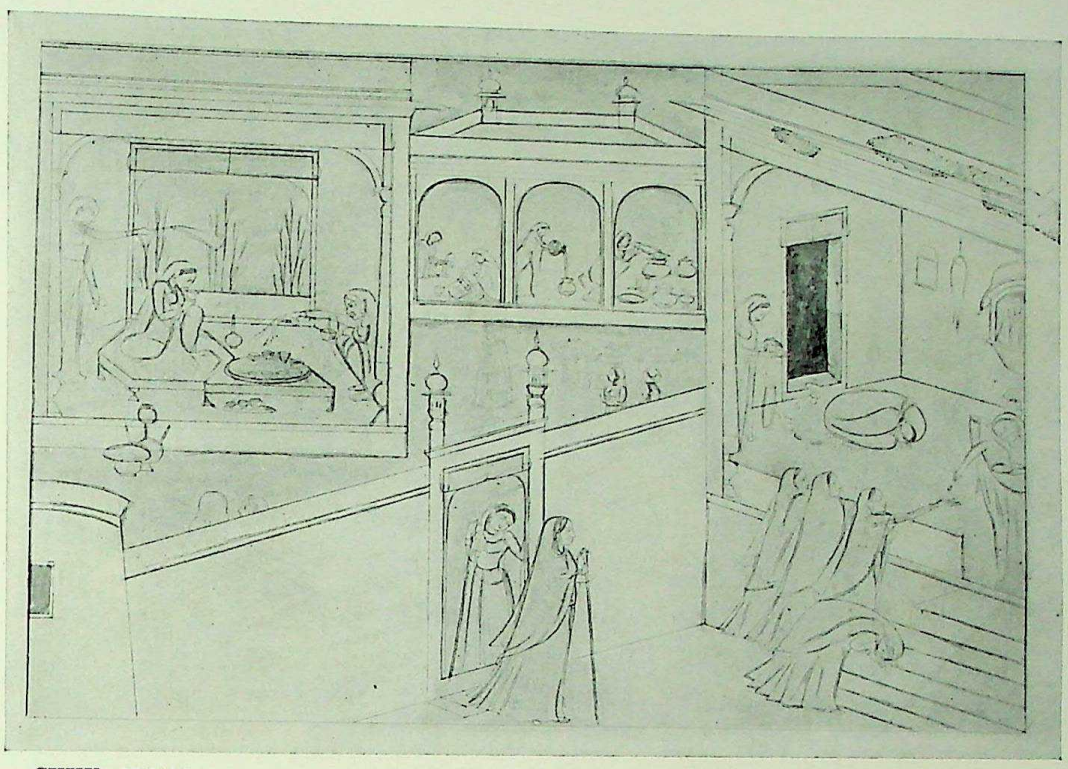

CXXV. 17.2416

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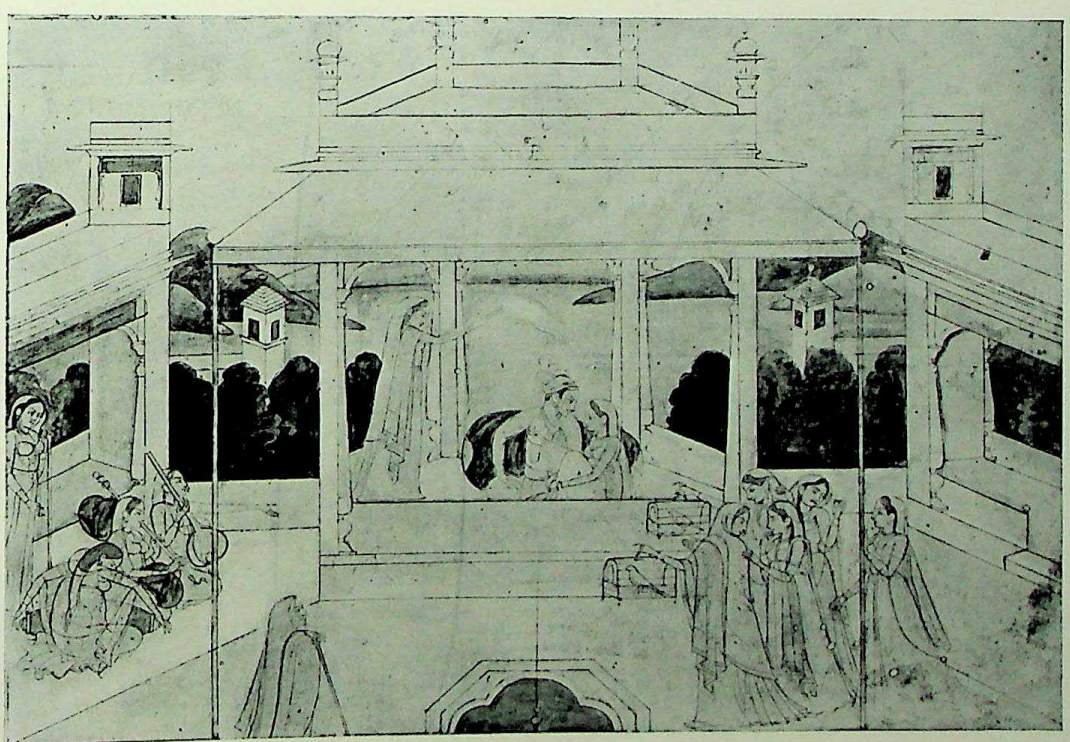


CXXVI. 17.2417

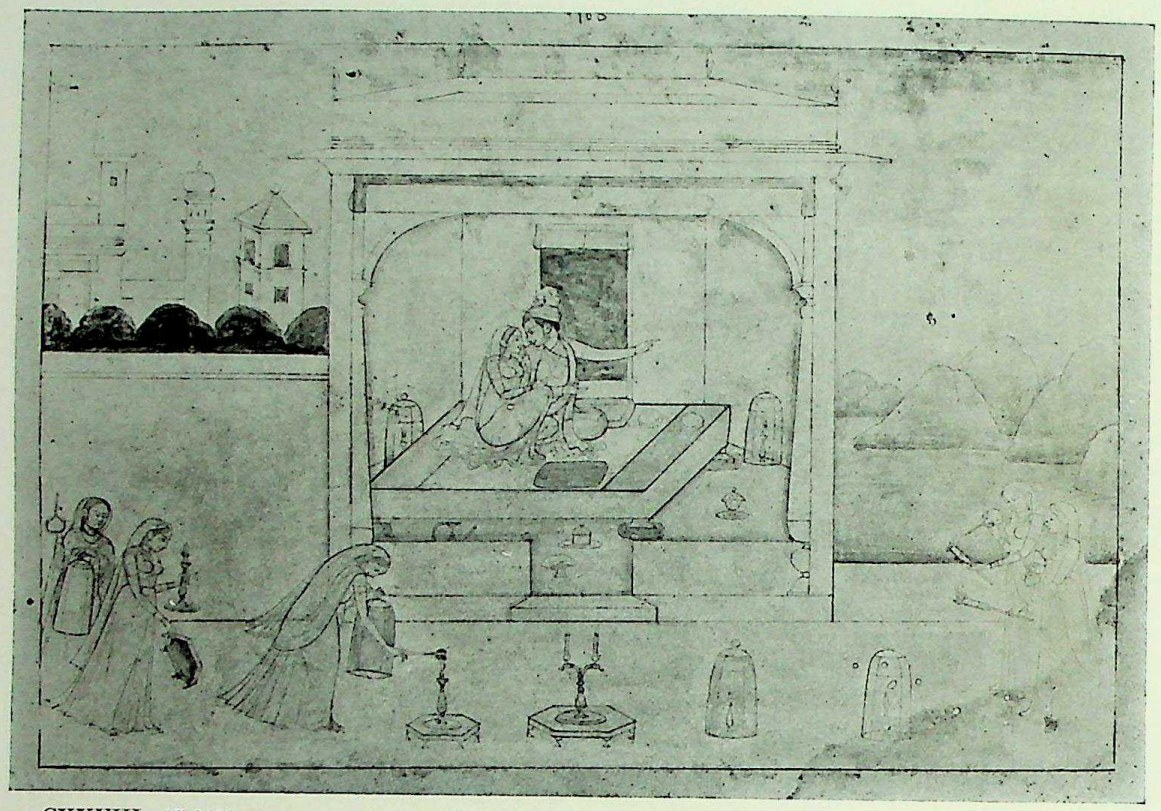
PAGE 112

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE LII



CXXVIII. 17.2419

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NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES

CCXXXIX. 25.527

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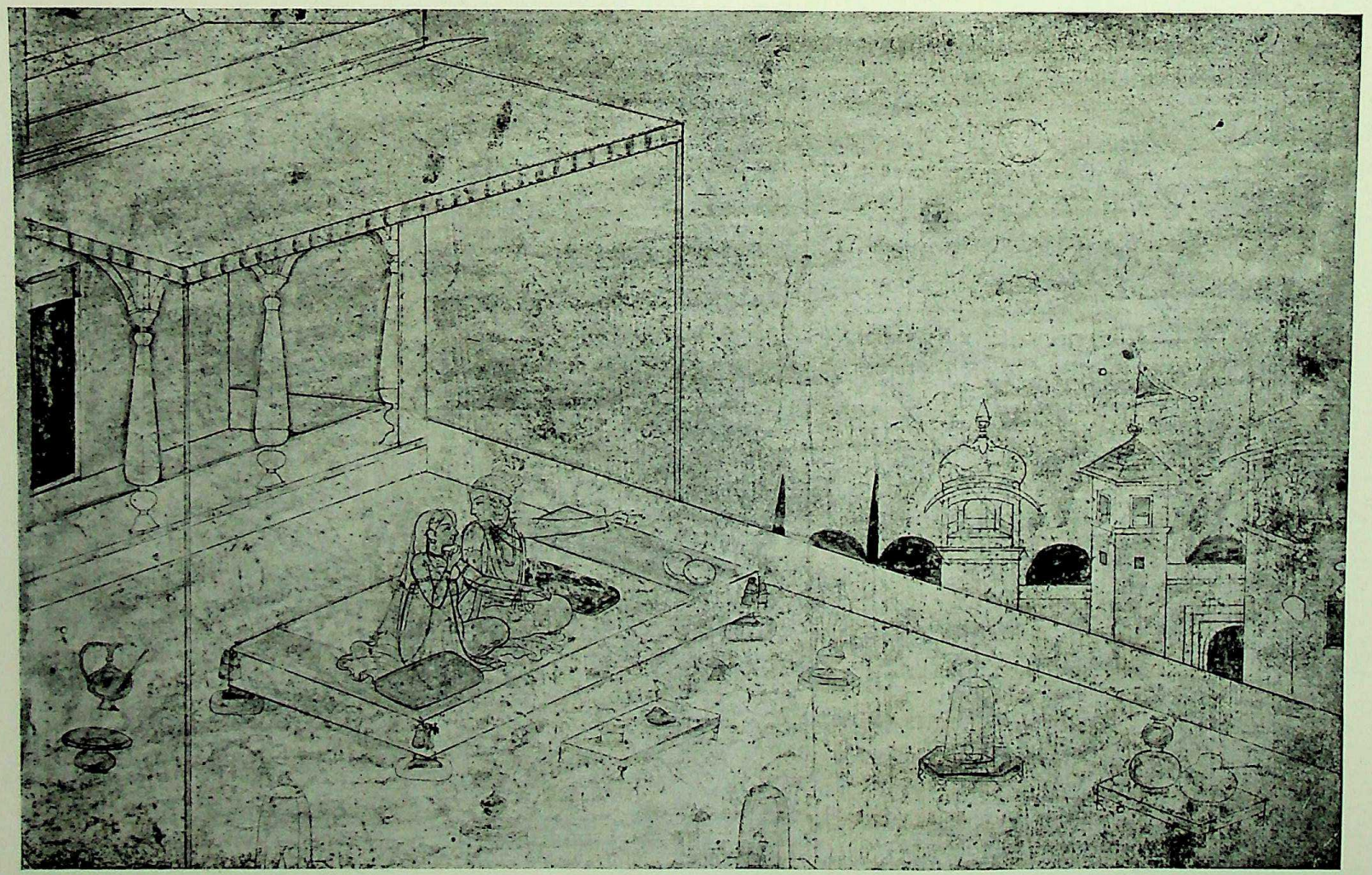
KṚṢṆA'S FLUTE

PAHĀṚĪ. KĀṄGṚĀ



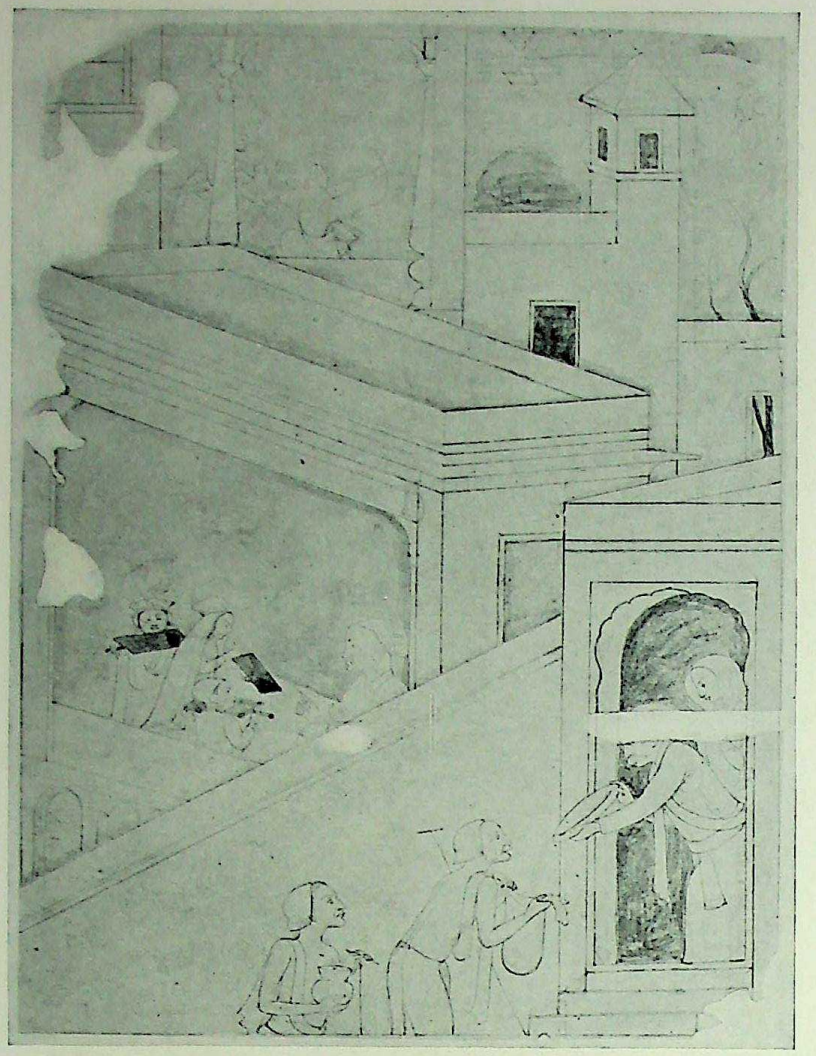
CXXIX. 17.2420

PAGE 113

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES: WATCHING THE MOON RISE

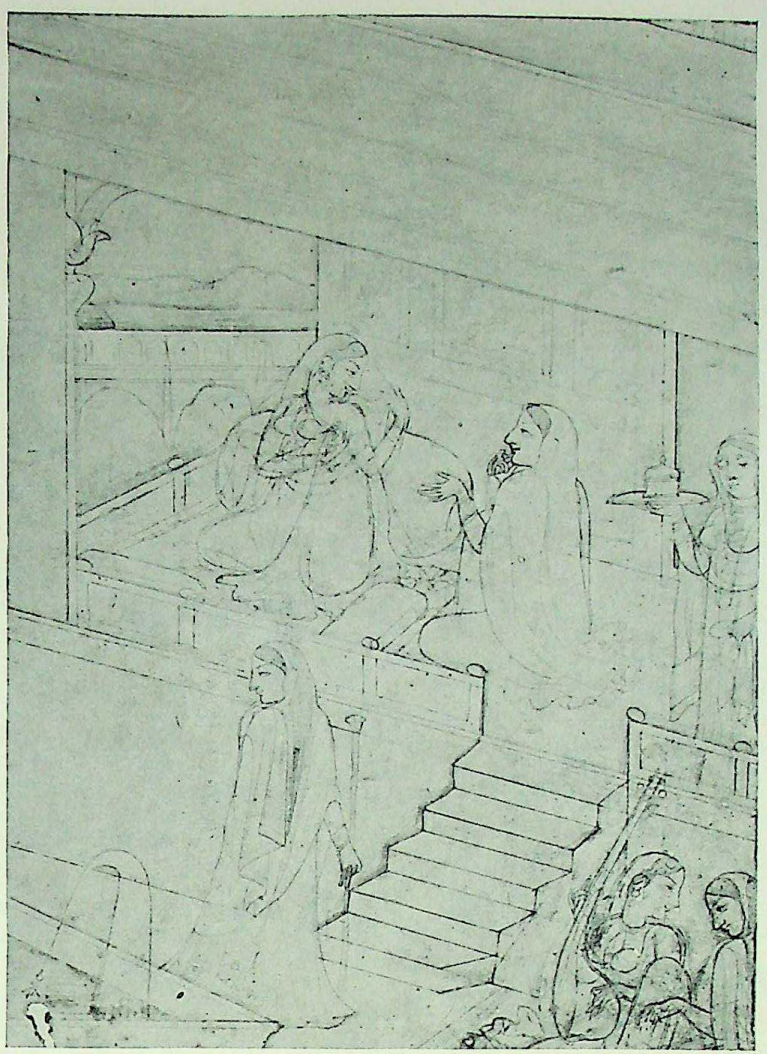
PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CXXX. 17.2446 PAGE 113

NALA-DAMAYANTĪ SERIES



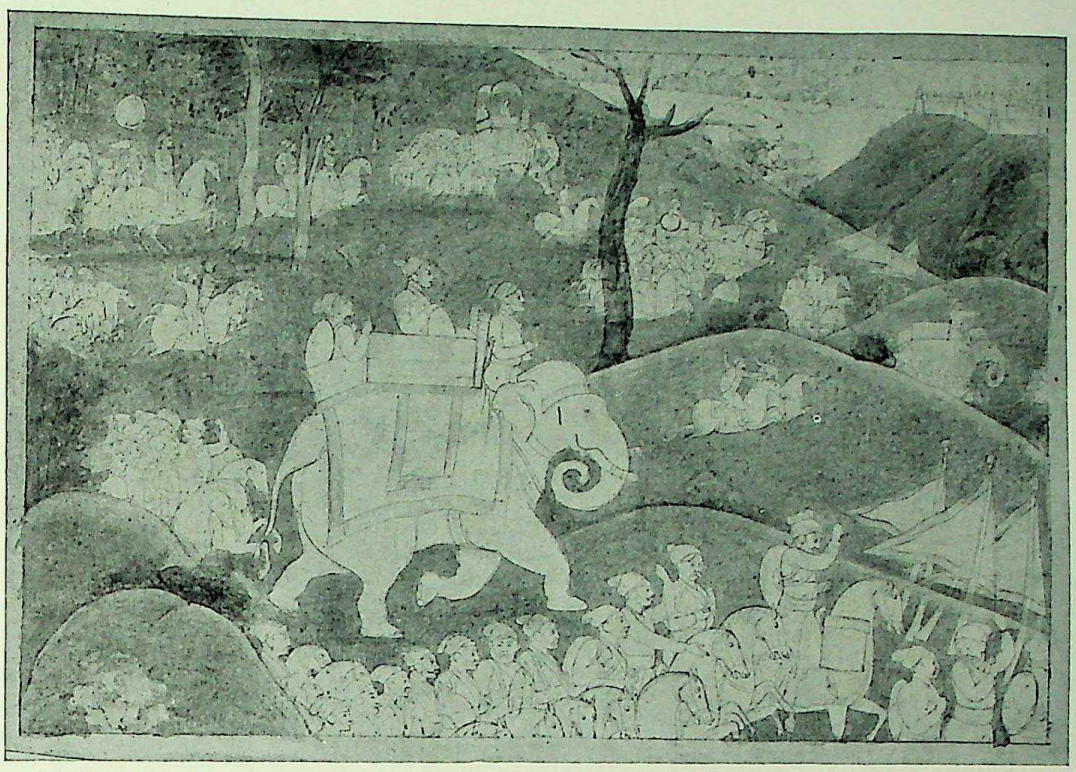
CCLXIX. 17.2472 PAGE 162

RĀDHĀ

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CXLVI. 17.2442

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CXLVII. 17.2443

PAGE 117

HAMĪR HAṬH

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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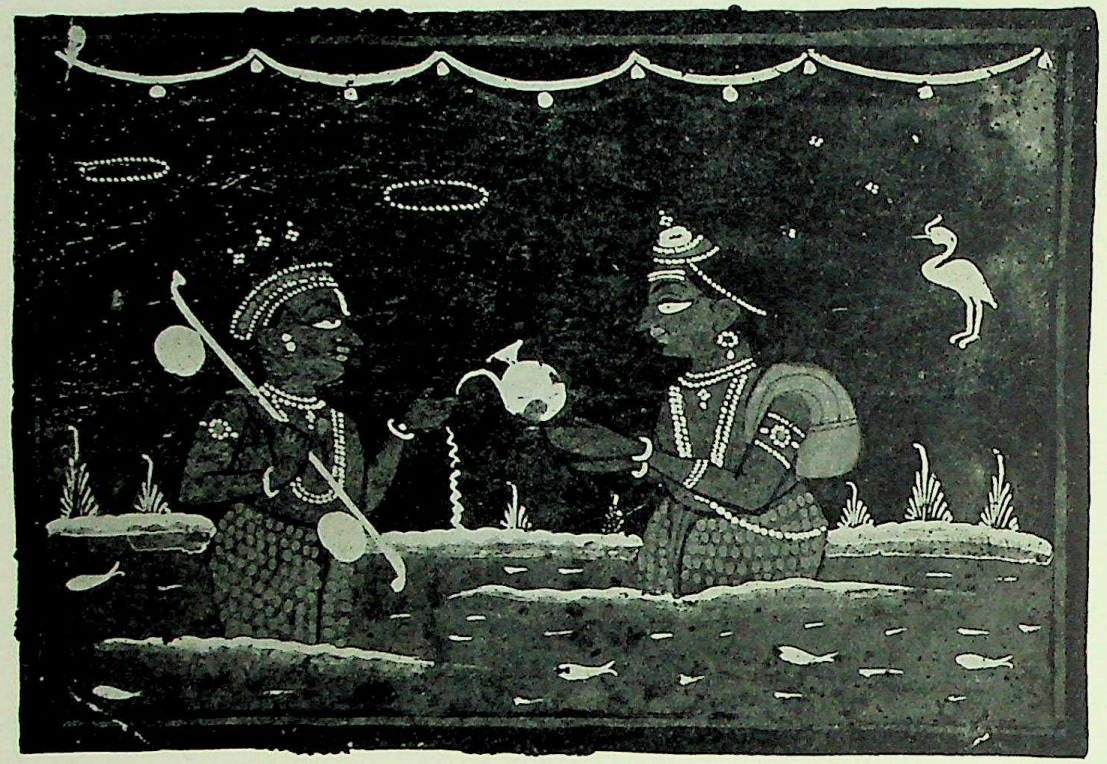
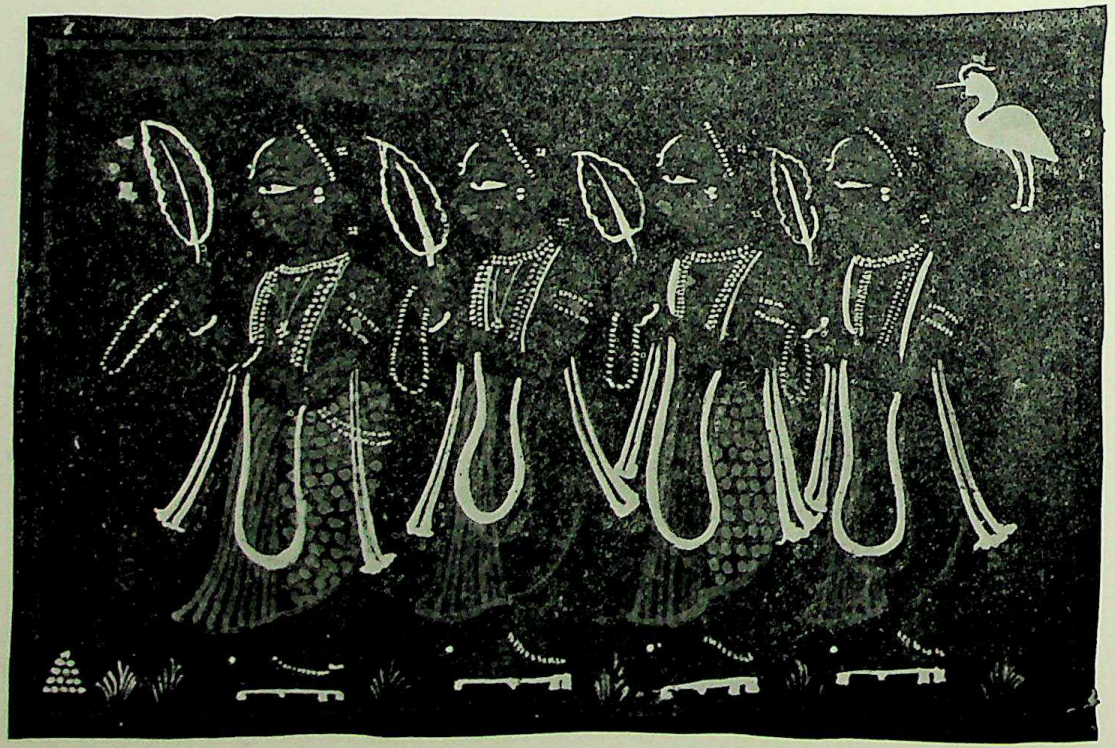


CLVIII. 25.425 PAGE 120

NĀRADA

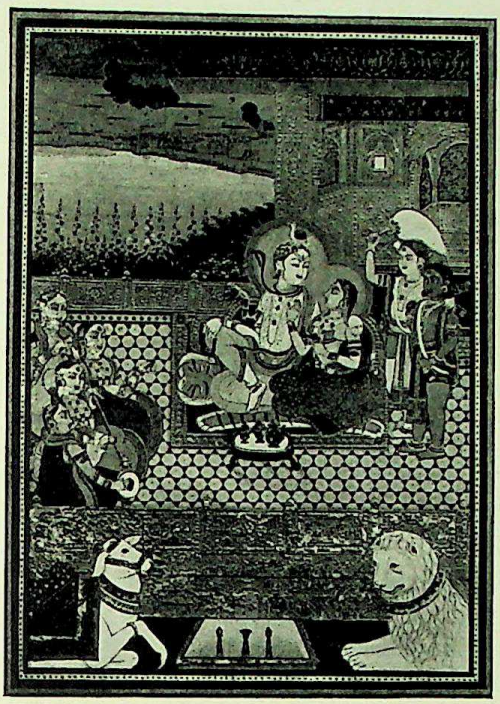


CLVII. 25.424 PAGE 119

FOUR SONS OF BRAHMĀ

RĀJASTHĀNĪ?

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CLII. 07.656 PAGE 118

ŚIVA AND PĀRVATĪ

CCLXIV. 17.2605 PAGE 161

RĀDHĀ AND KṚṢṆA

CLXIV. 20.165 PAGE 121

(78) BUDDHA IN THE FOREST, CHANNA RETURNING

RĀJASTHĀNĪ AND PAHĀṚĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE LVIII

CLXIX. 17.2584

PAGE 125

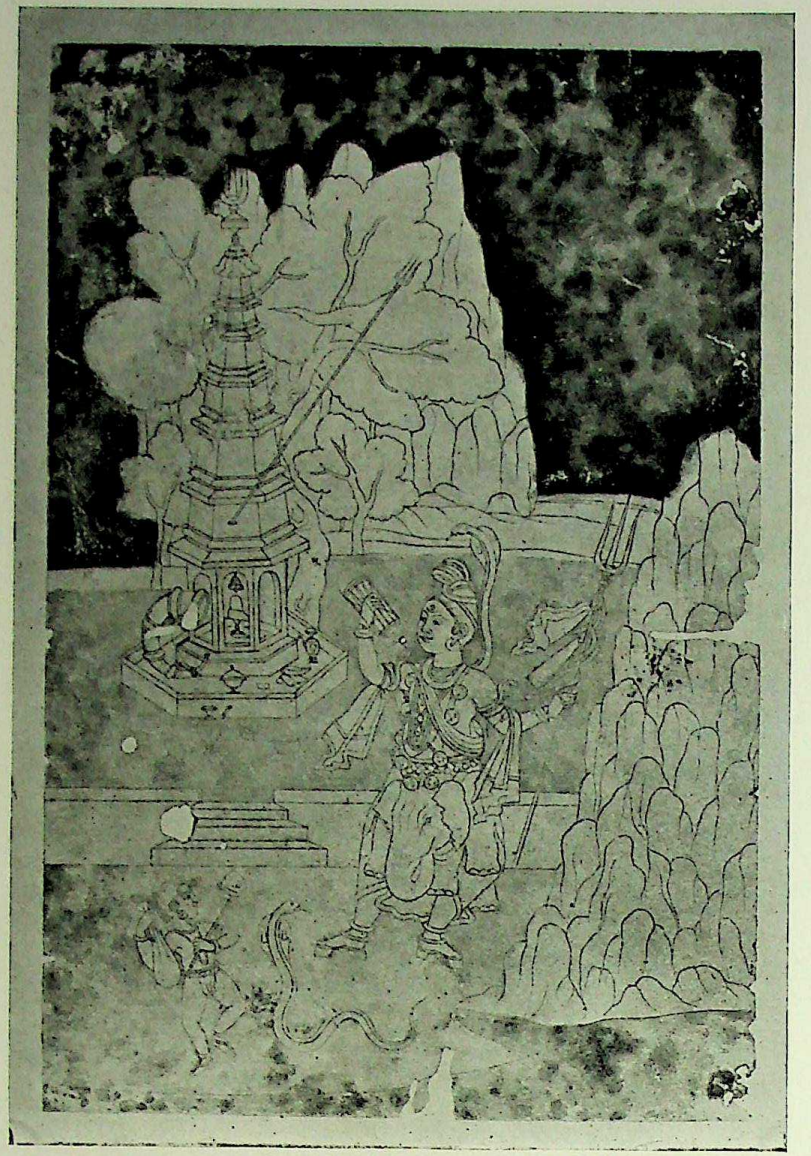
ŚIVA AND PĀRVATĪ ENTHRONED

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CLXX. 17.2652

ŚIVA AND PĀRVATĪ



CCXI. 17.2822 PAGE 142

ŚIVA AS BHAIRAVA

OUDH OR PAHĀṚĪ

CLXXIII. 17.2578 PAGE 126

GAṄGĀVATARAṆA

PAHĀṚĪ

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CCIV. 17.2552

PAGE 140

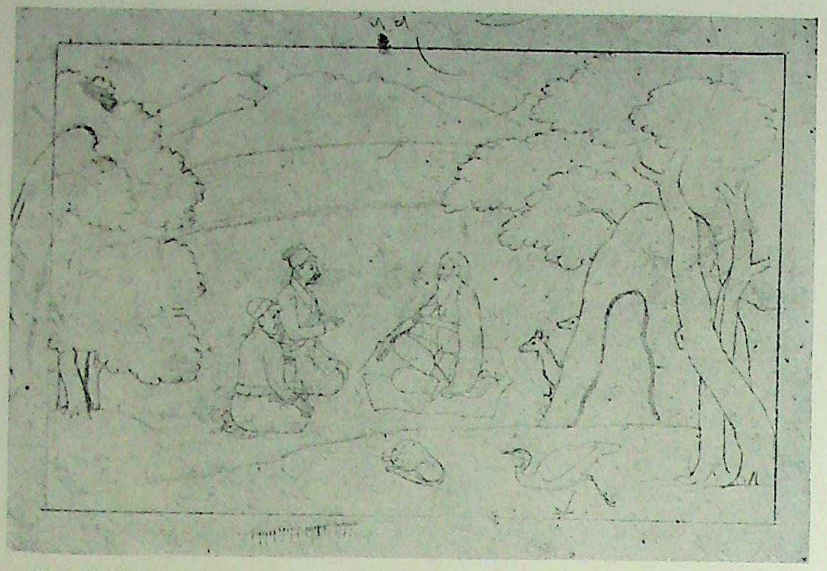
DECAPITATION OF RĀHU

CLXXXVII. 17.2615

PAGE 131

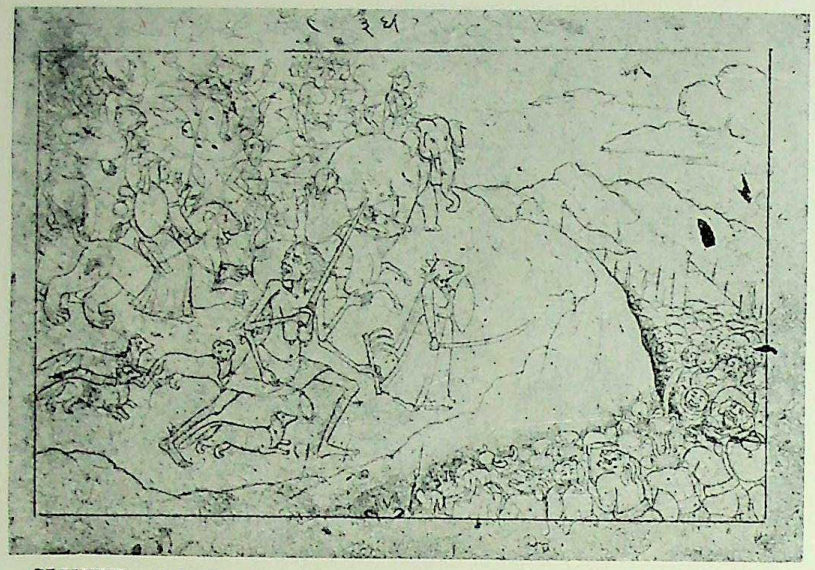
TWO HERMITS

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

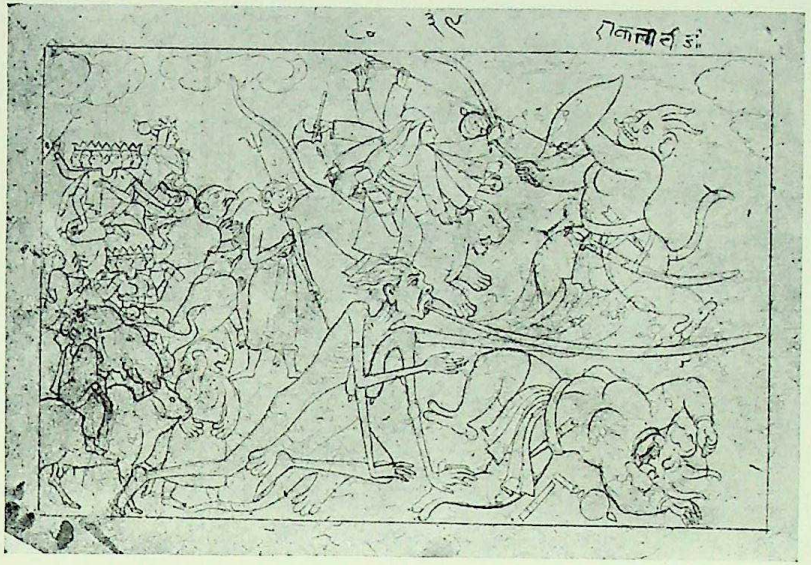


CLXXIX. 17.2590 PAGE 128

CLXXV. 17.2586 PAGE 127



CLXXVI. 17.2587 PAGE 127



CLXXVII. 17.2588 PAGE 128

MĀRKAṆḌEYA PURĀṆA

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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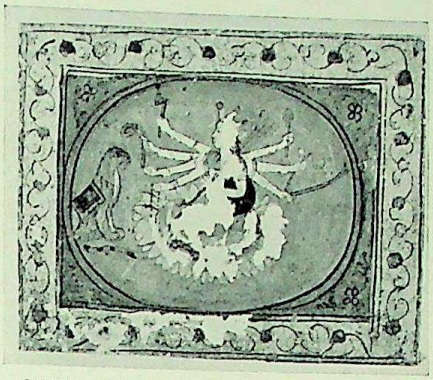


CCIX. 17.2599 PAGE 142

DURGĀ

CCIX. 17.2599 PAGE 142

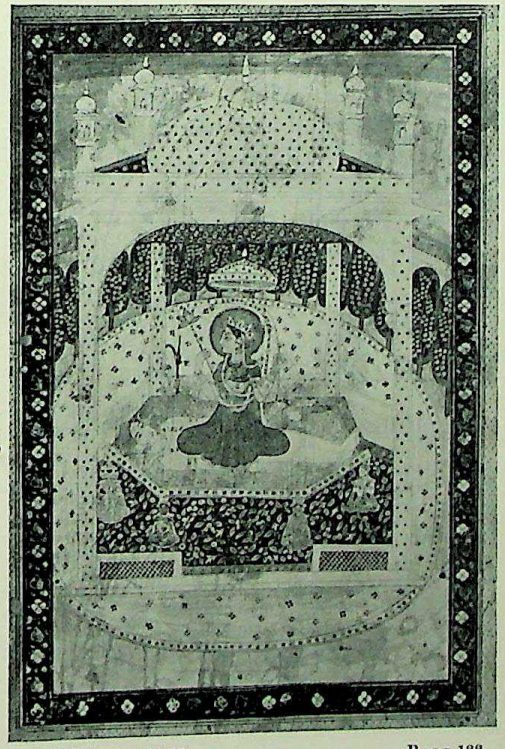
VIṢṆU

CLVI. 17.3037 PAGE 119

GAṄGĀVATARAṆA

CCIX. 17.2599 PAGE 142

GAṆEŚA



CXCIV. 17.2571 PAGE 133

SUMUKHĪ

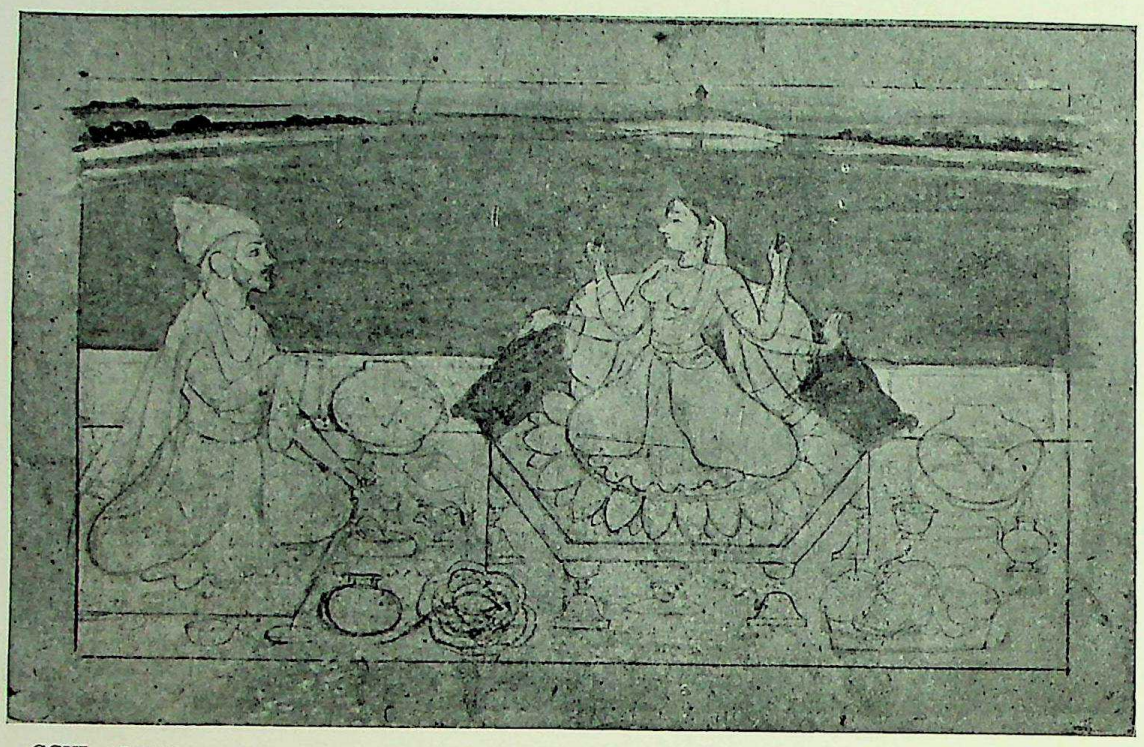
CXCIX. 17.2576 PAGE 138

GĀYATRĪ

PAHĀṚĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE LXIV



CCVI. 17.2570

PAGE 141

DEVĪ-PŪJĀ

CLXXIV. 17.2585

PAGE 127

DEVĪ

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCXII. 21.1675 PAGE 142

RĀJĀ KAṀSA

CCXXV. 17.3201 PAGE 146

RĀDHĀ AND KṚṢṆA

RĀJASTHĀNĪ AND PAHĀṚĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE LXVI

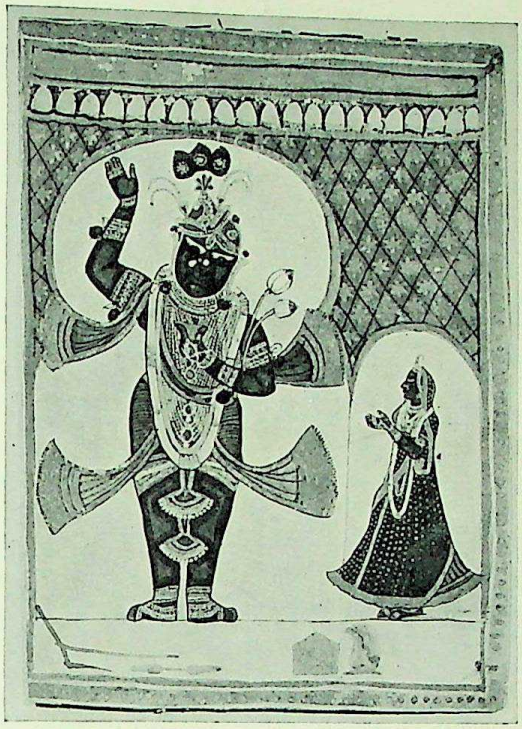
CCXIV. 17.73

PAGE 144

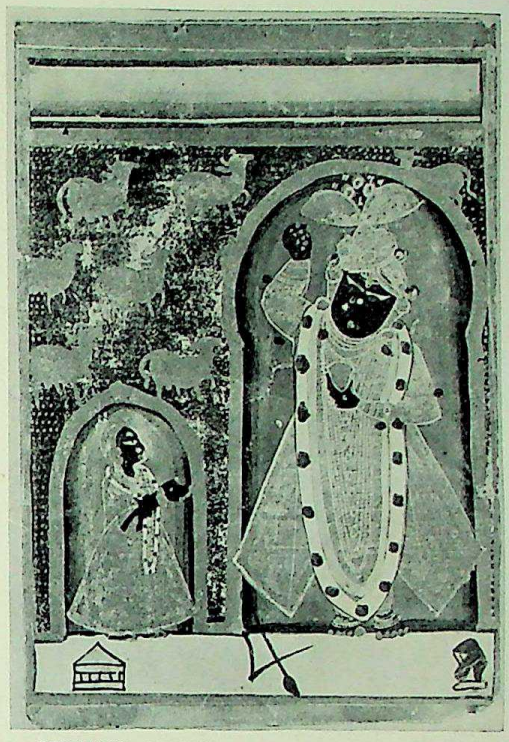
KṚṢṆA IN RĀDHĀ'S HOUSE

RĀJASTHĀNĪ

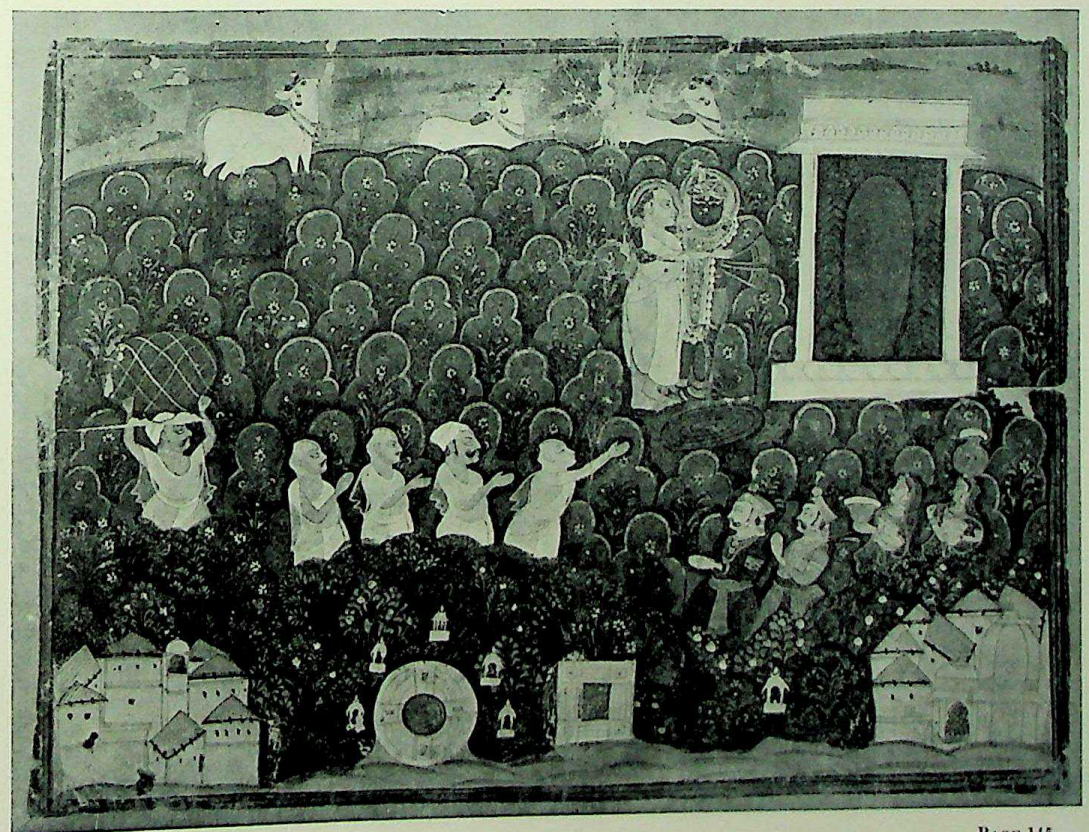
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCXXII. 17.2906 PAGE 145



CCXXIII. 17.2907 PAGE 146



CCXX. 17.2904 PAGE 145

CULT OF ŚRĪ NĀTHA-JĪ

RĀJASTHĀNĪ

CCXXIX. 17.2450

KĀLIYA DAMANA

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

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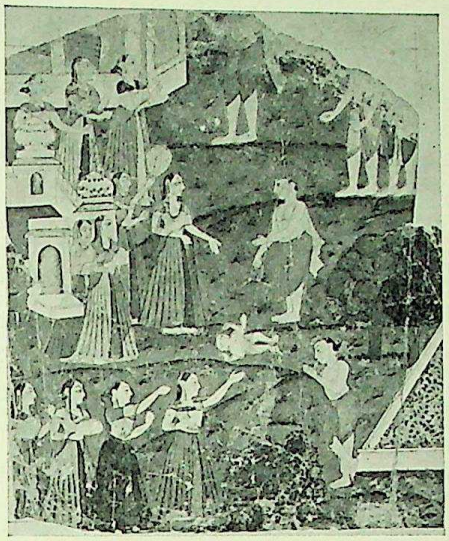
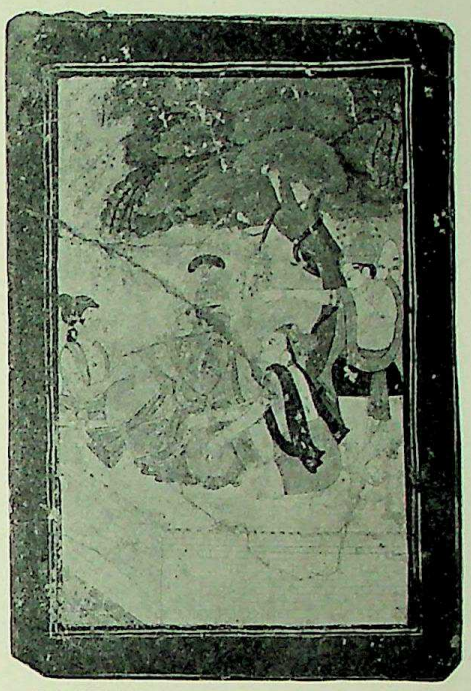


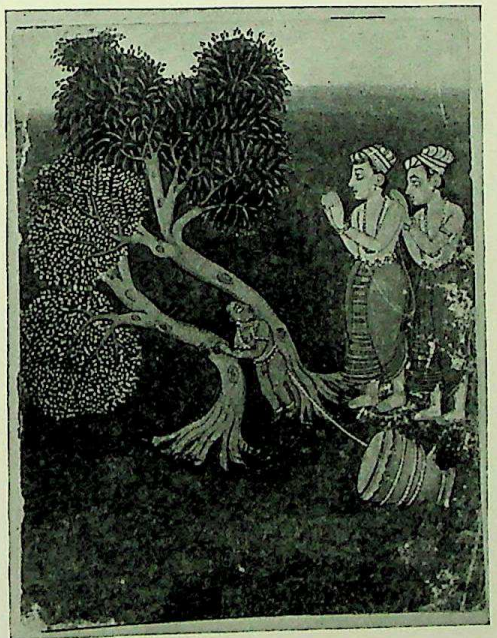
CCXIII. 17.2908 PAGE 144

BIRTH OF KṚṢṆA



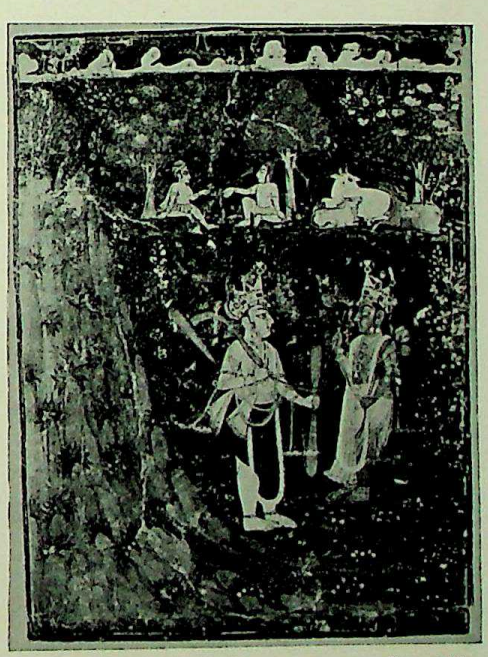
CCXXXVI. 17.2607 PAGE 150

KṚṢṆA WITH THE FLUTE



CCXXXIA. 17.2624 PAGE 148

NAL AND KŪVAR



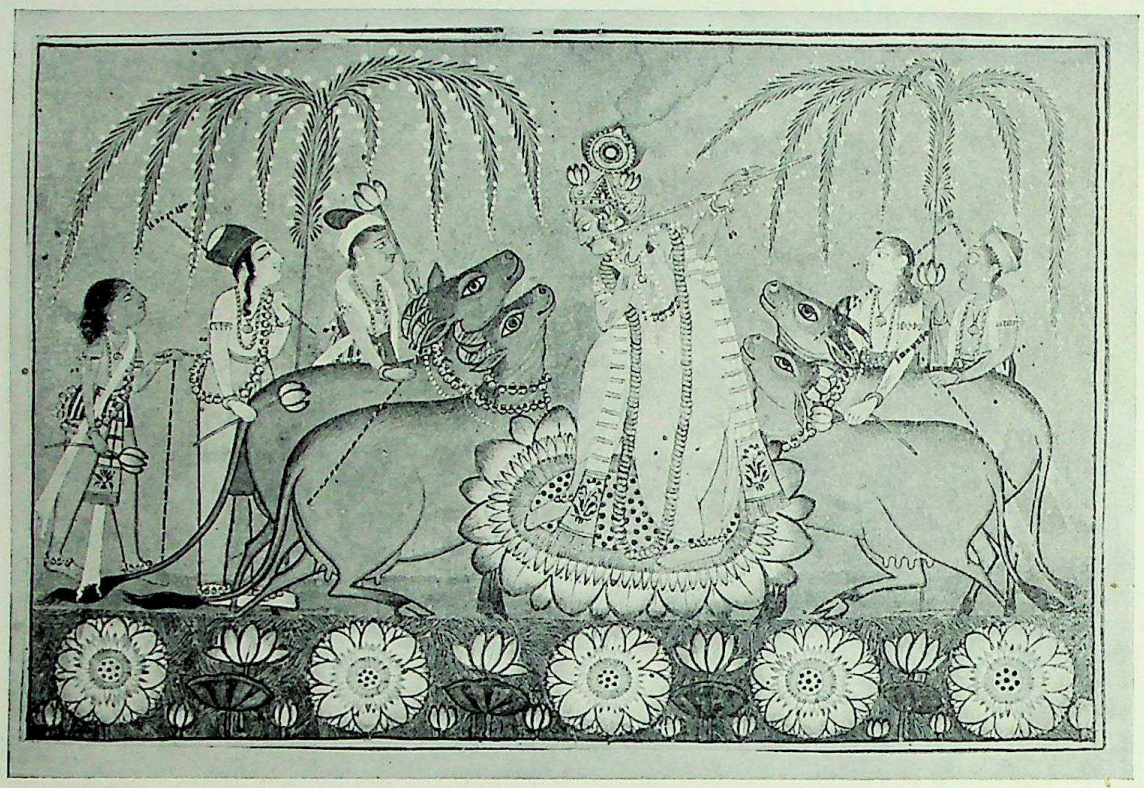
CCLXXXIII. 17.2608 PAGE 166

BALARĀMA

RĀJASTHĀNĪ AND PAHĀṚĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE LXX



CCXXIV. 17.2804 PAGE 146

KṚṢṆA WITH THE FLUTE

CCXLI. 22.365 PAGE 152

KṚṢṆA DUDHĀDHĀRĪ

PAHĀṚĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCXXXII. 17.2617

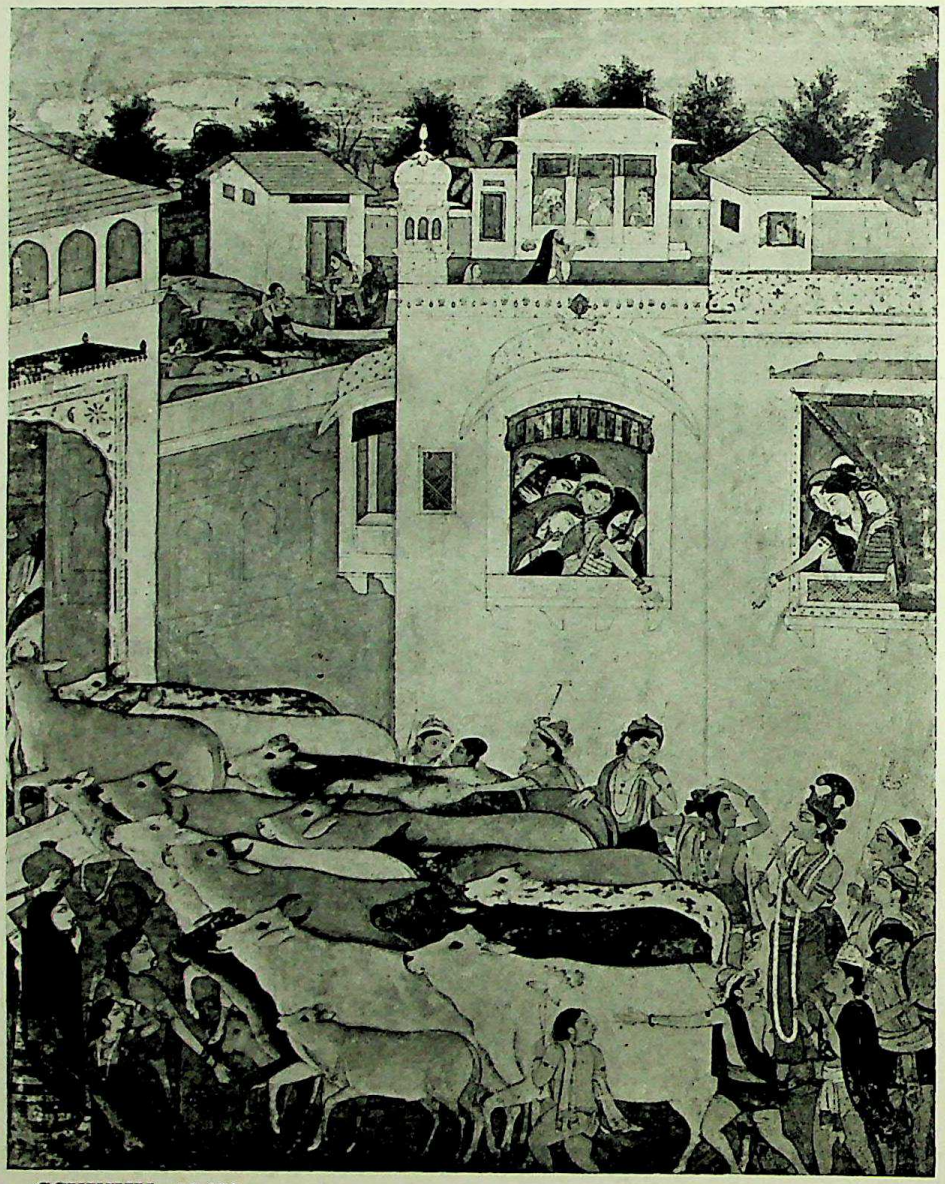
PAGE 149

HOUR OF COWDUST

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE LXXII



CCXXXIII. 22.683

PAGE 149

HOUR OF COWDUST

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCXXXVII. 17.2619

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KṚṢṆA WITH THE FLUTE

PAHĀṚI, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE LXXIV

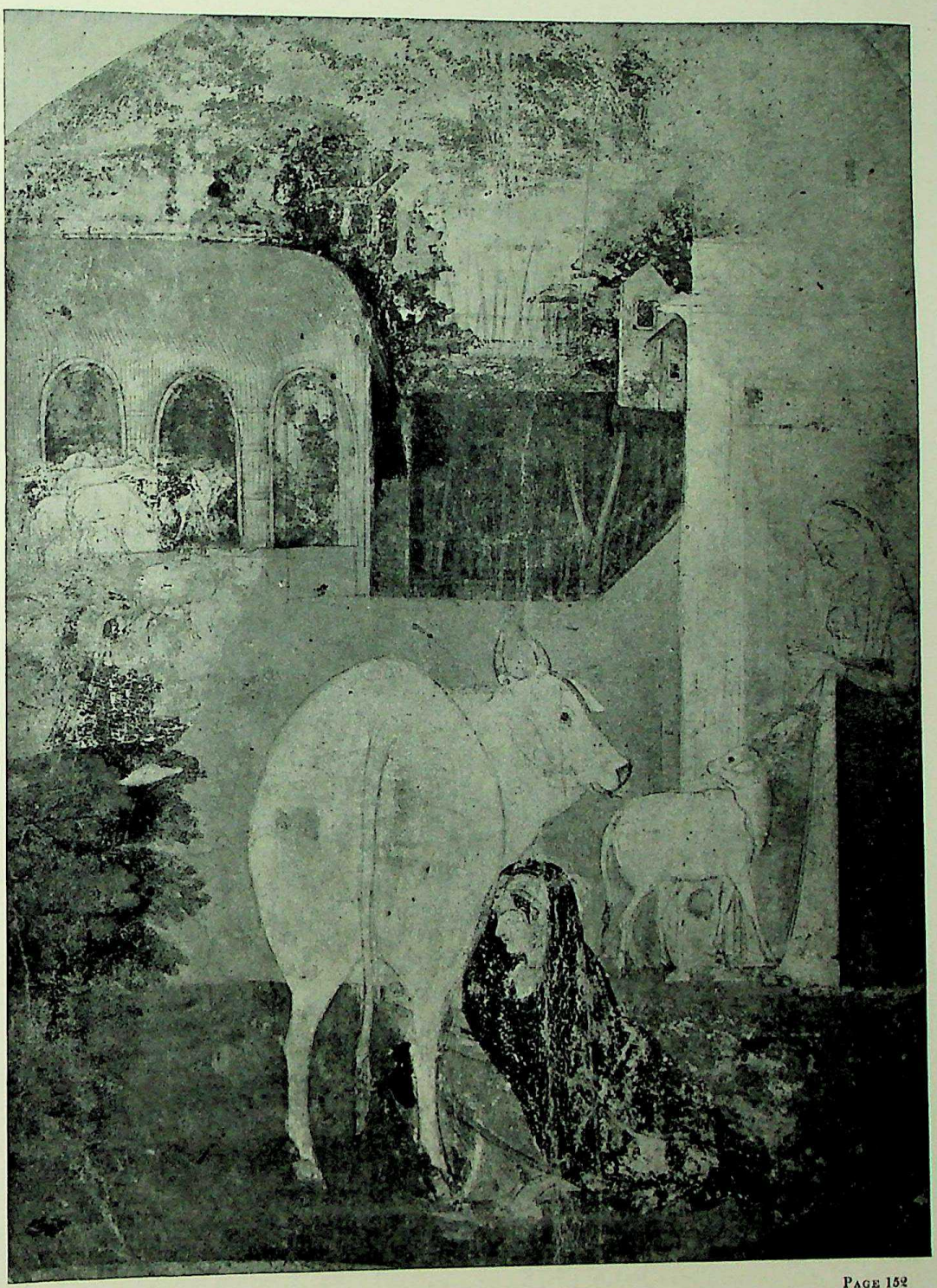
CCXXXVIII. 19.132

PAGE 151

KṚṢṆA WITH THE FLUTE

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



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CCXL. 17.2620

KṚṢṆA DUDHĀDHĀRĪ

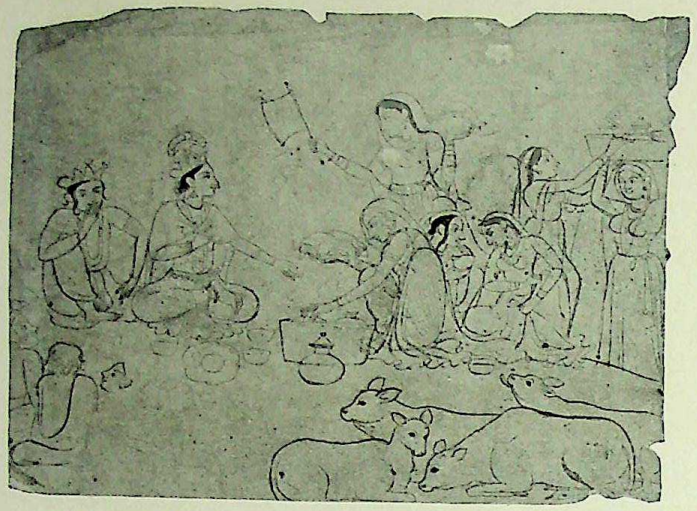
PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CCXLV. 17.2448 PAGE 155

RĀS LĪLĀ

CCXLVI. 17.2455 PAGE 155

RĀS LĪLĀ



CCLI. 17.2463 PAGE 157

WIVES OF MATHURĀ BRĀHMANS

CCL. 17.2451 PAGE 156

CĪRA HARAṆA

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

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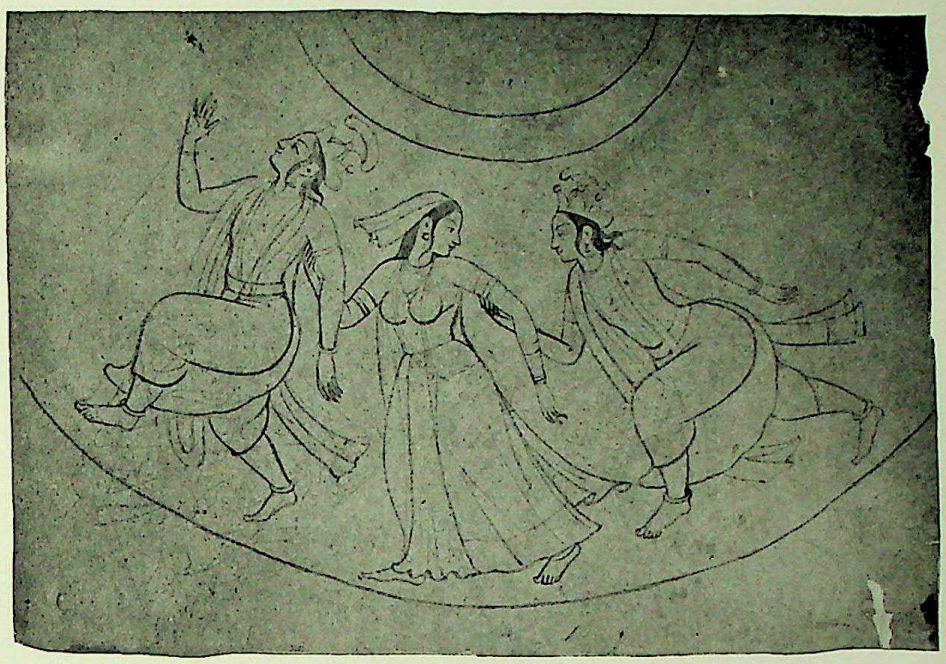


CCXLVII. 17.2465 PAGE 156

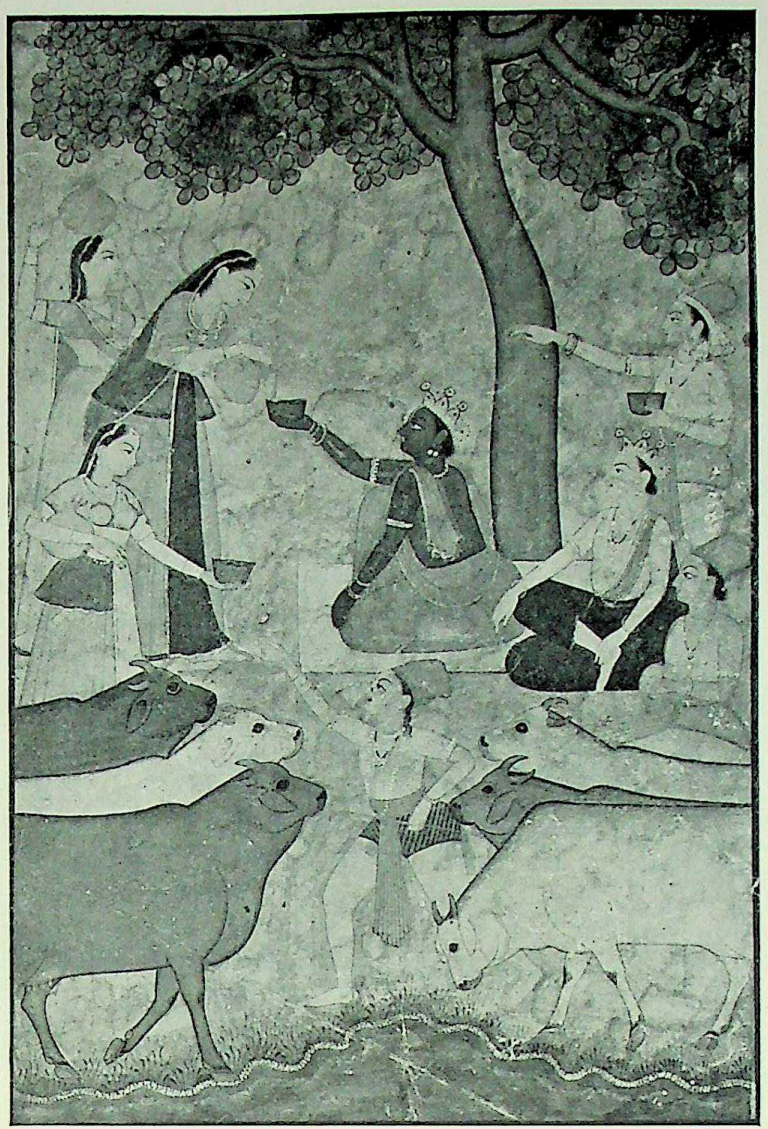
CCXLVIII. 17.2466 PAGE 156

RĀSA MAṆḌALA

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CCLXVII. 18.199 PAGE 162

RĀDHĀ AND KṚṢṆA

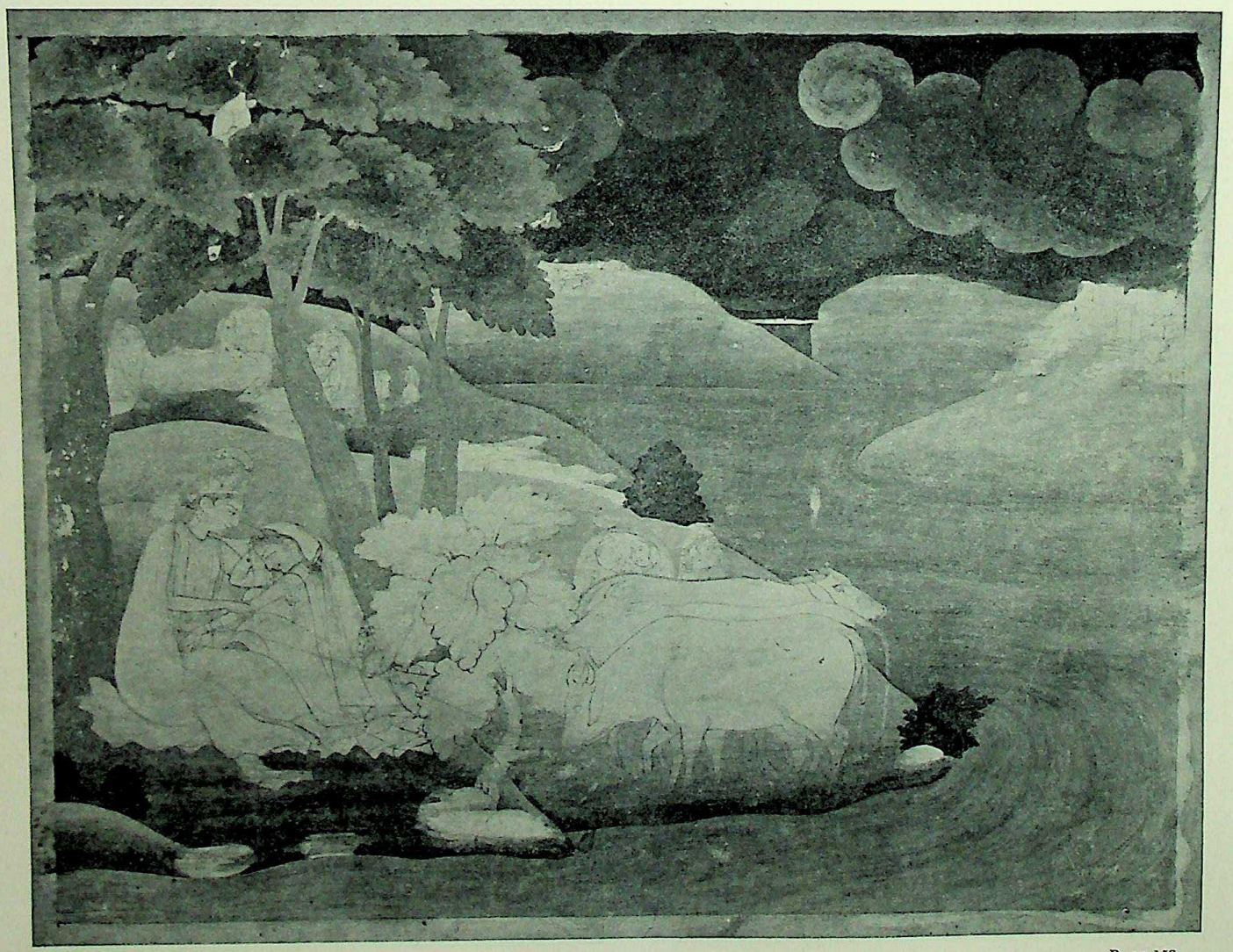


CCLII. 17.2610 PAGE 157

WIVES OF MATHURĀ BRĀHMANS

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



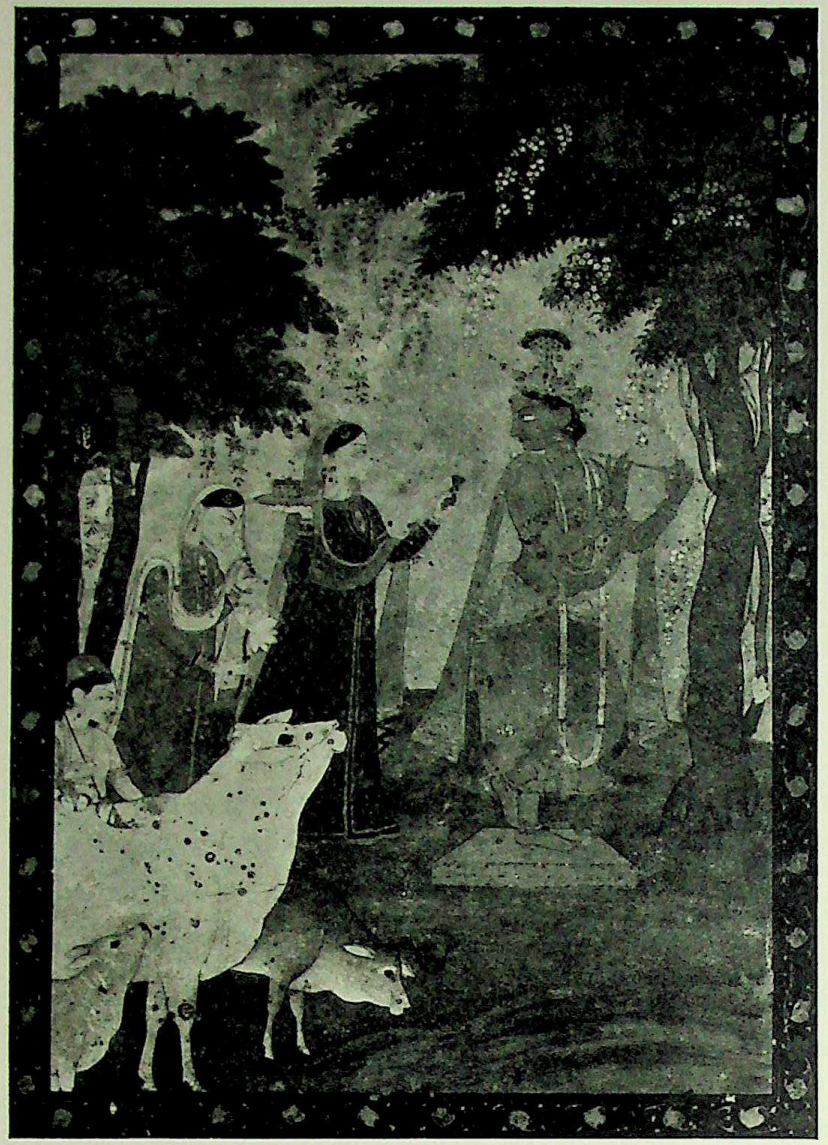
CCLIV. 17.2444

PAGE 158

RĀDHĀ AND KṚṢṆA

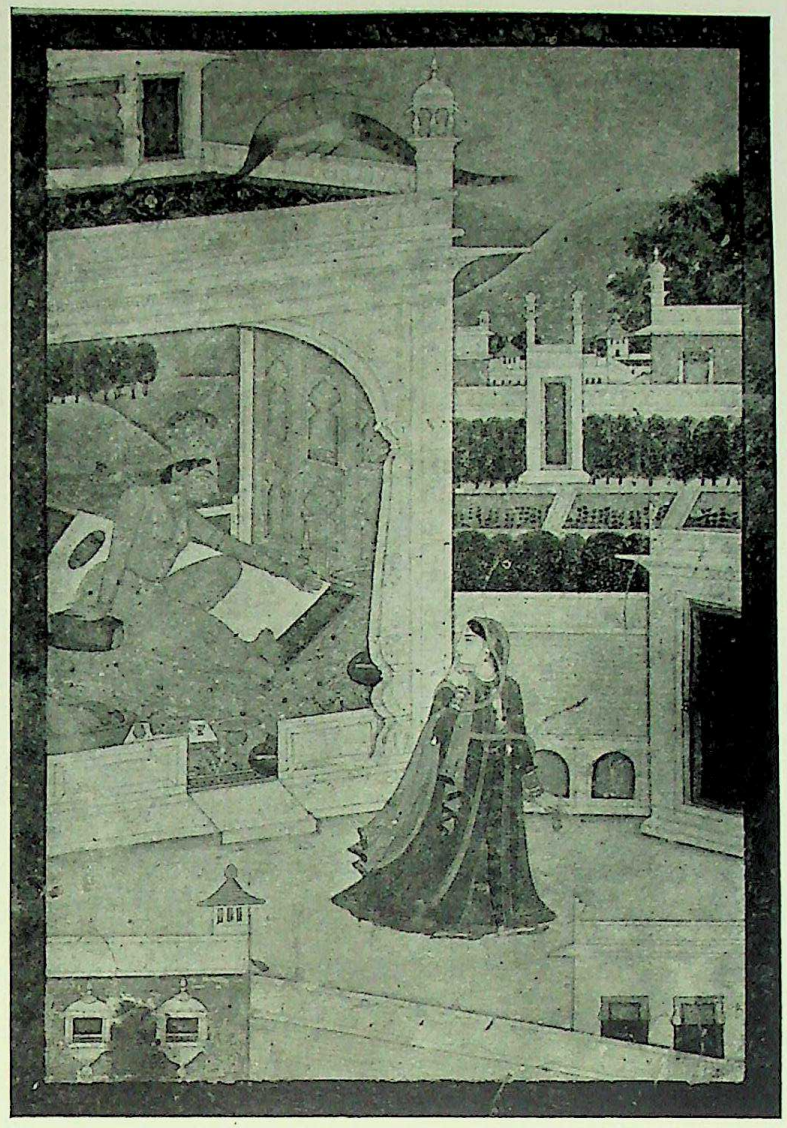
PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCXXXIV. 17.1351 PAGE 149

KṚṢṆA WITH THE FLUTE

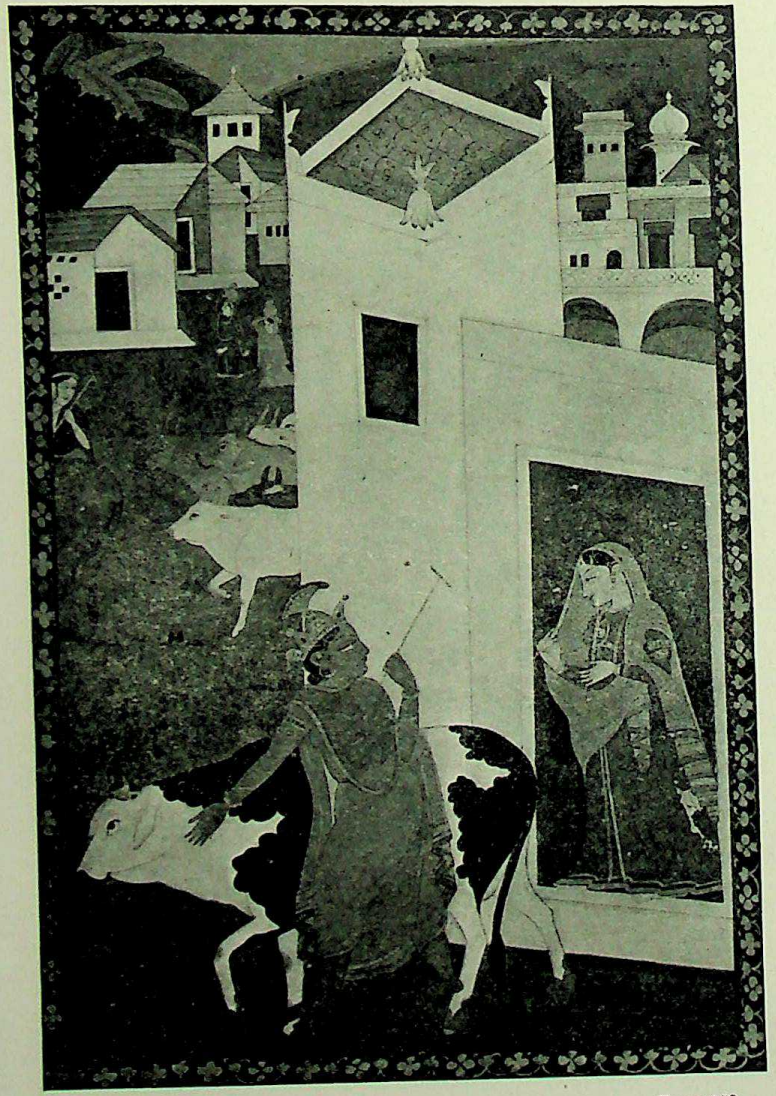


CCLXV. 17.2609 PAGE 161

KṚṢṆA AND RĀDHĀ

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCLIII. 15.54 PAGE 158

KṚṢṆA AND RĀDHĀ

CCLXVI. 17.2614 PAGE 161

KṚṢṆA AND RĀDHĀ

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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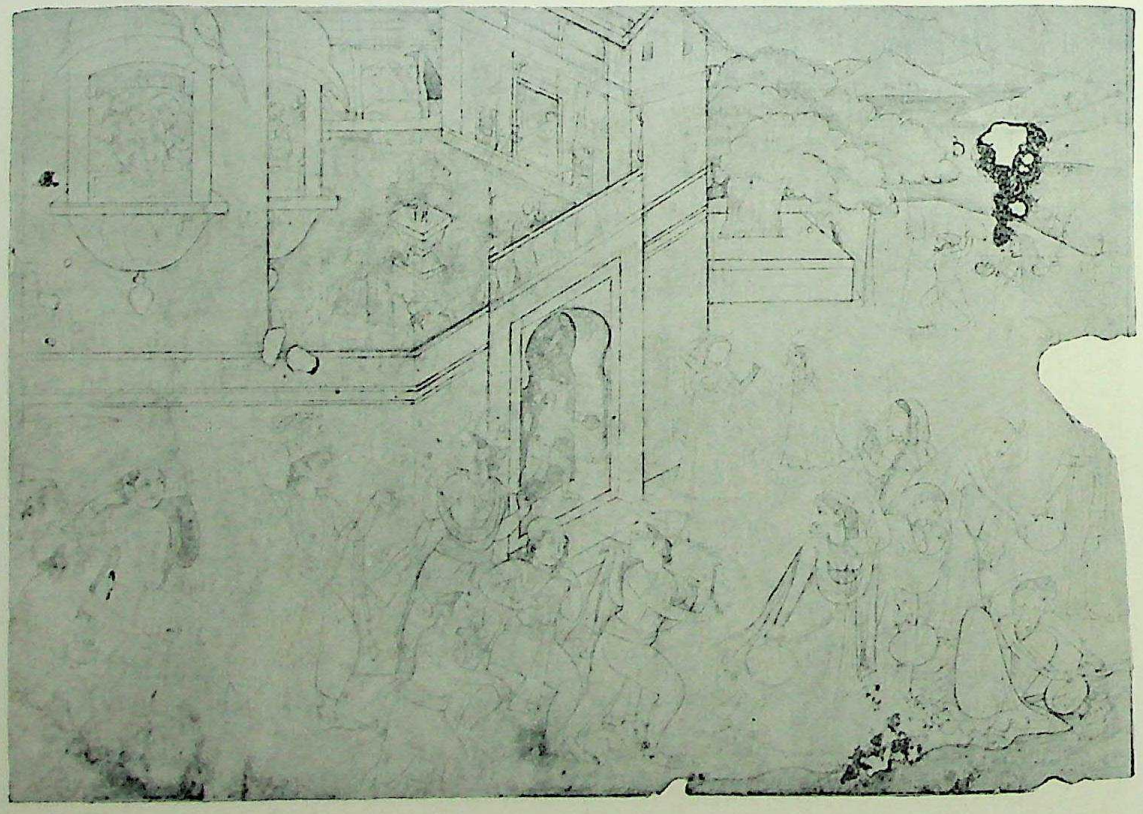
CCXXXV. 17.2461 PAGE 150

KṚṢṆA'S FLUTE

CCLXXIII. 17.2479 PAGE 163

JAMNA GHĀṬ

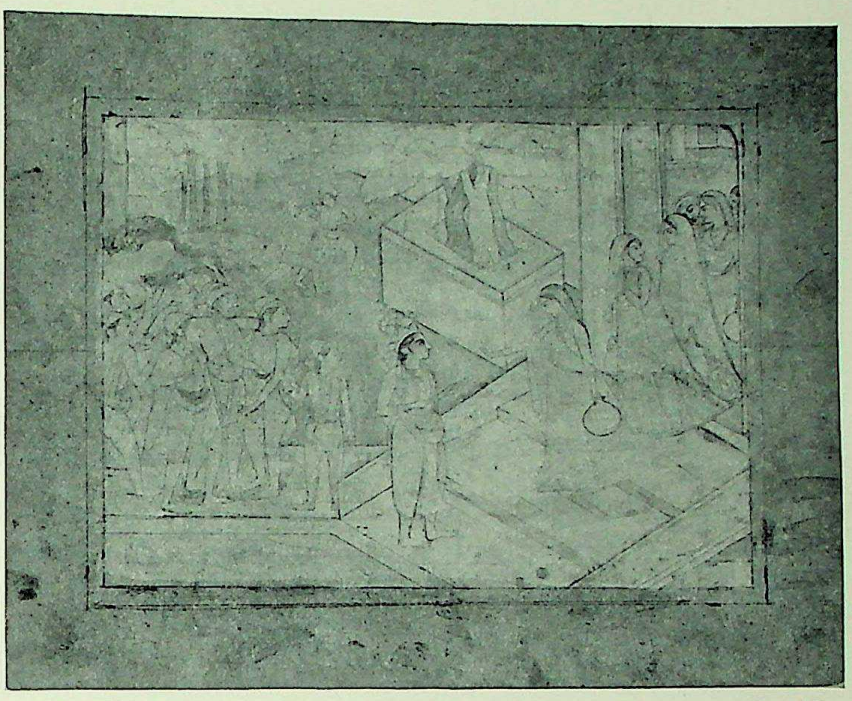


CCLXXI. 17.2454 PAGE 163

JAMNA GHĀṬ

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCLXXII. 17.2475 PAGE 163

JAMNA GHĀṬ

CCLXXVI. 17.2467 PAGE 164

HOLĪ FESTIVAL

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CCLXXIX. 17.2389

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GAṆEŚA (GĪTA GOVINDA SERIES)

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

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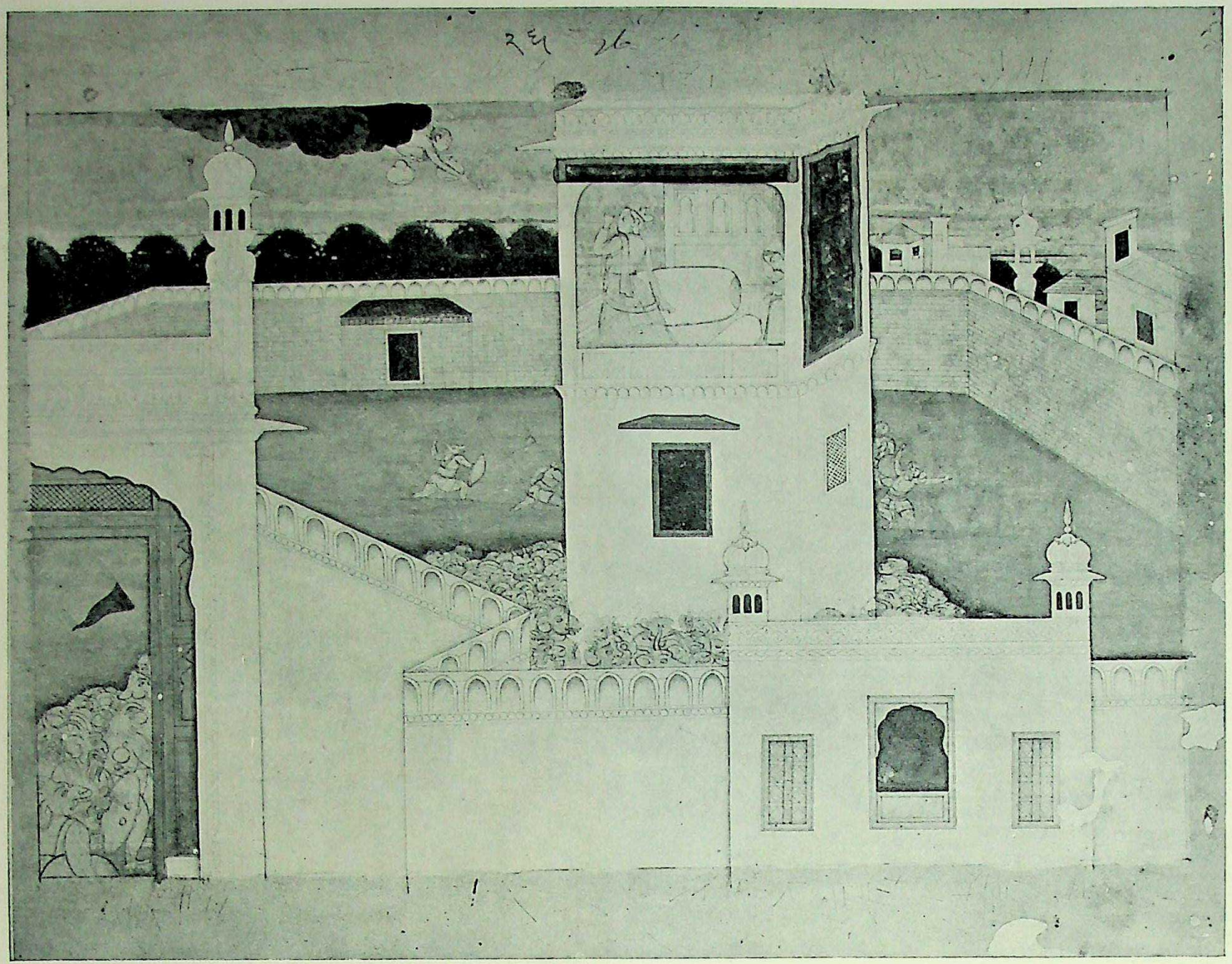
PAGE 165

GĪTA GOVĪNDA

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCLXXXV. 17.2438

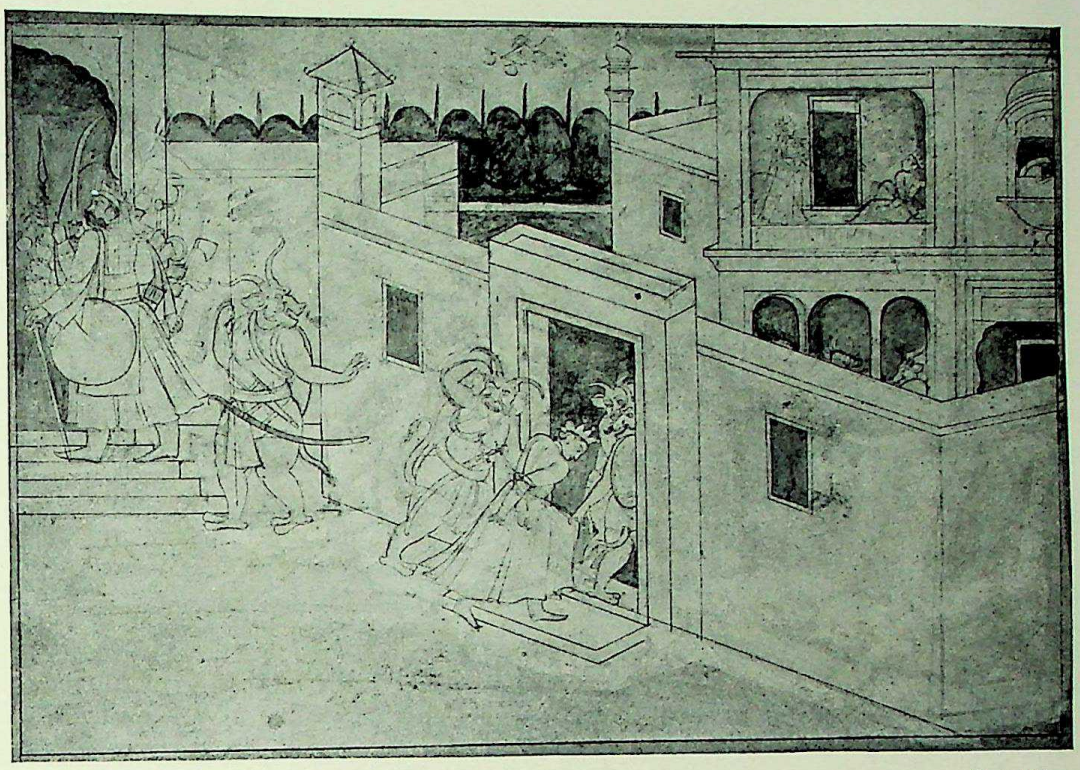
PAGE 166

ANIRUDDHA AND UṢĀ

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

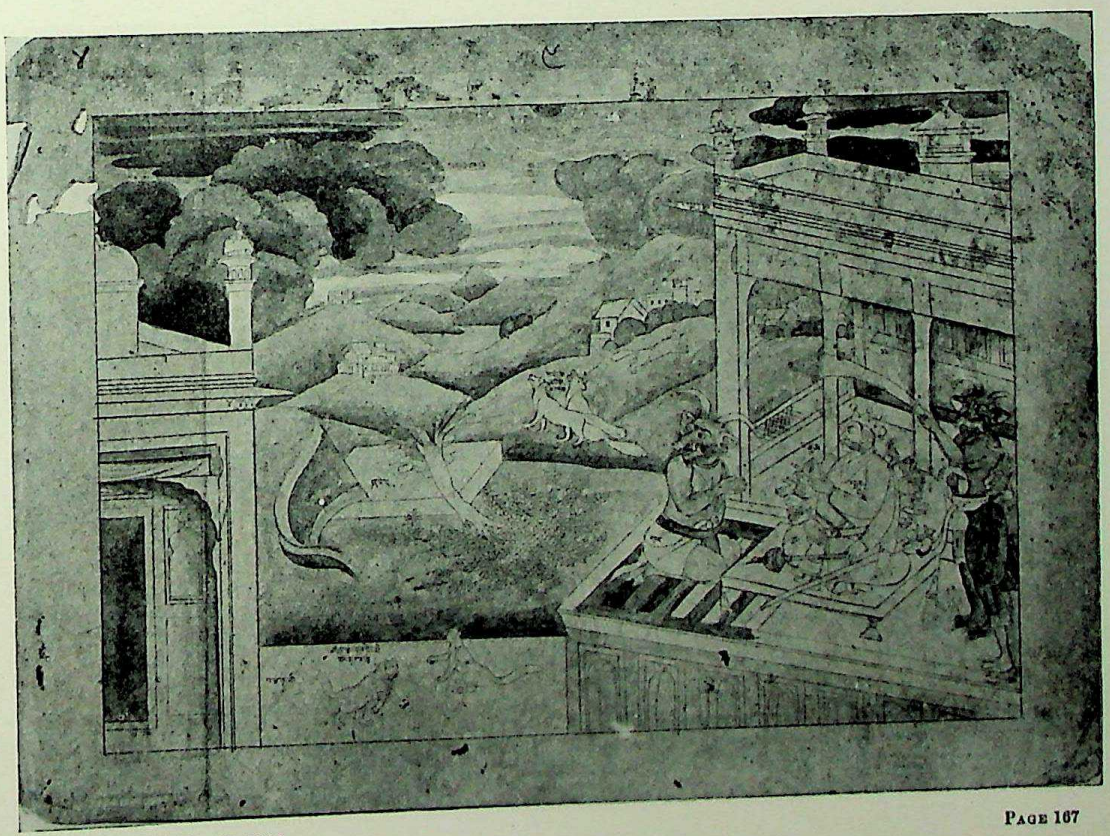
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCLXXXVII. 17.2440

PAGE 167



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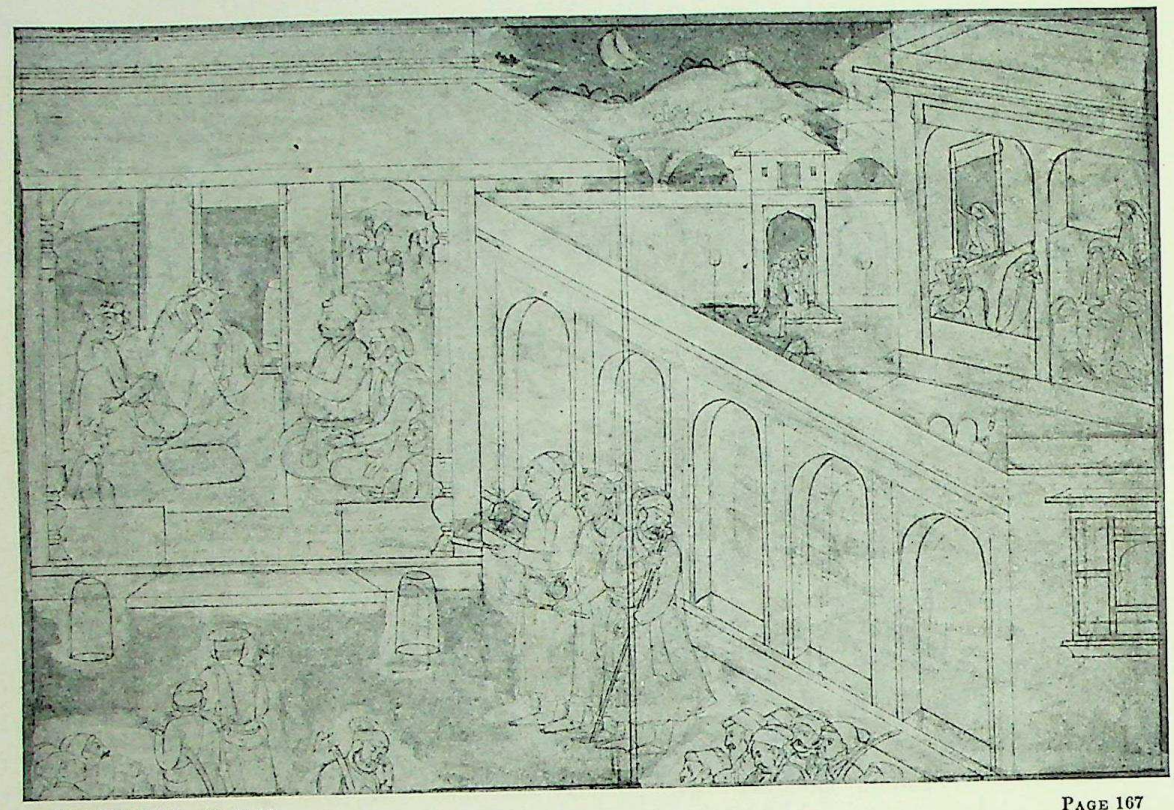
CCLXXXVIII. 17.2441

ANIRUDDHA AND UṢĀ

PAHĀṚI, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCLXXXVI. 17.2439

PAGE 167

ANIRUDDHA AND UṢĀ

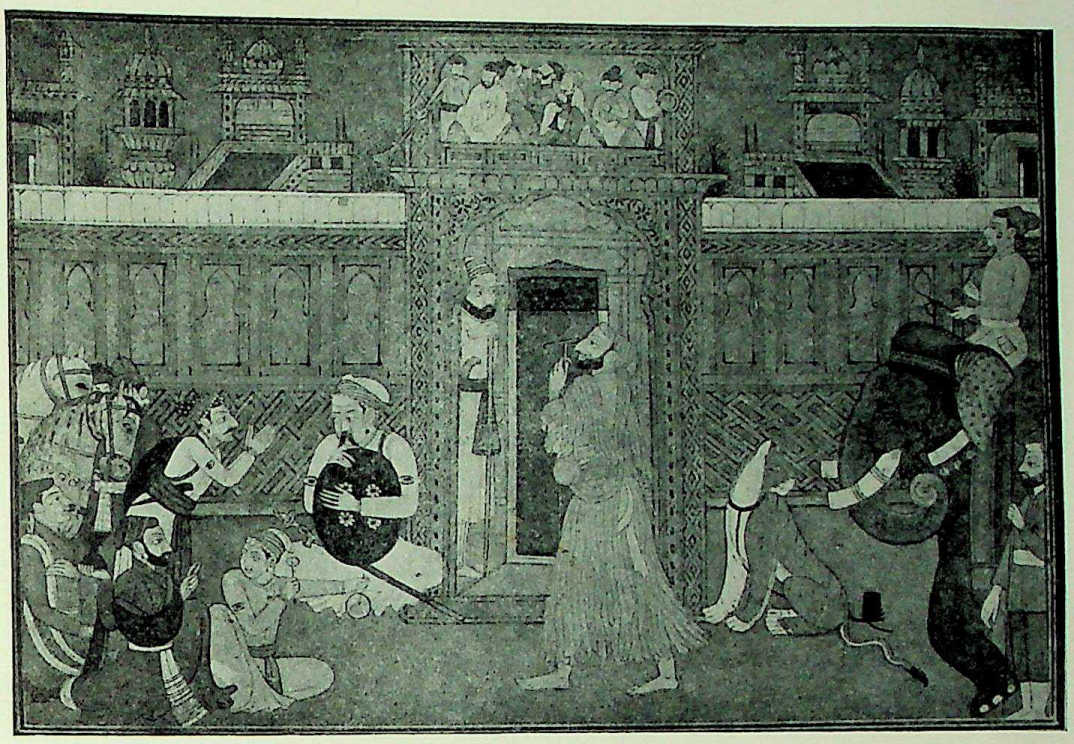
CCXLIV. 25.524

PAGE 154

DĀN LĪLĀ

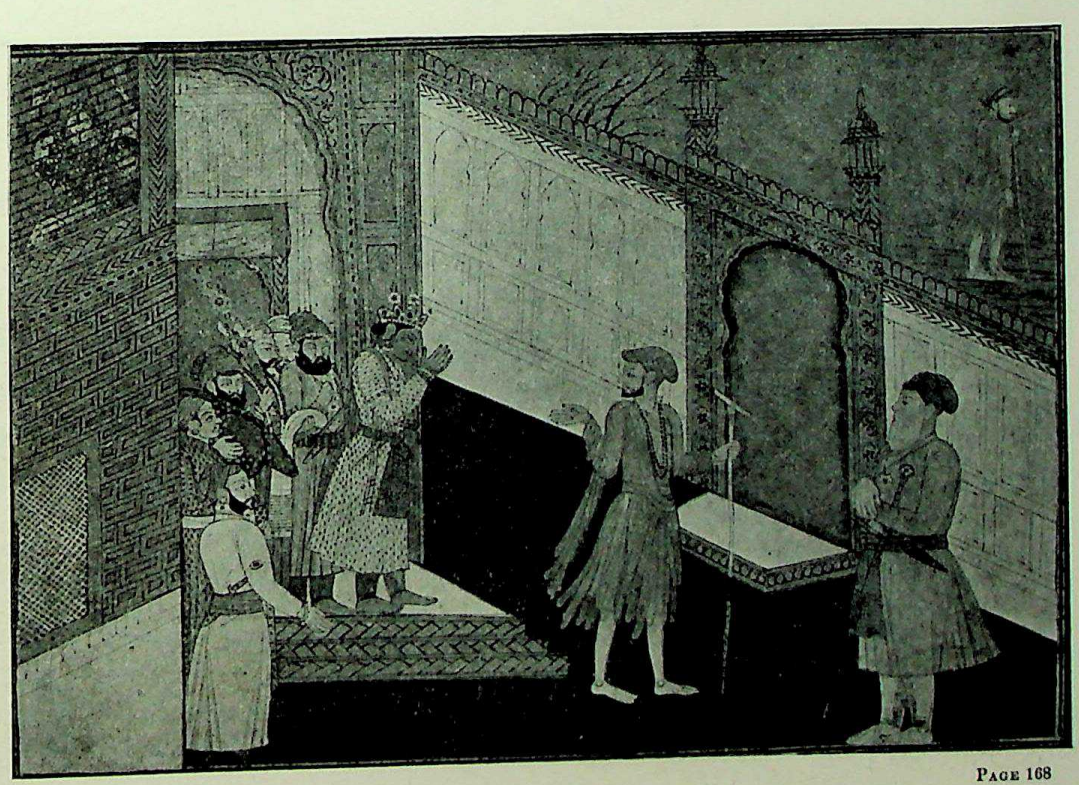
PAHĀṚĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCXCI. 17.3087

PAGE 168



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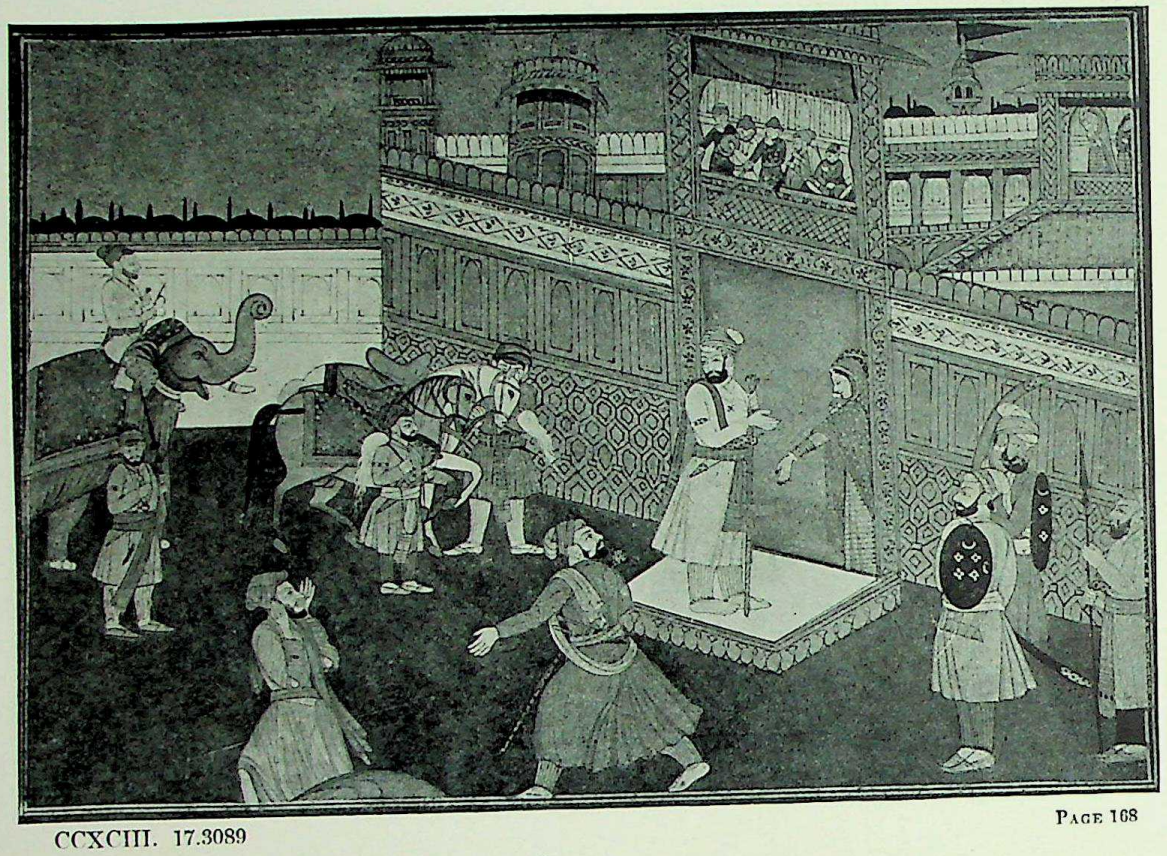
CCXCII. 17.3088

SUDĀMA

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XC



CCXCIII. 17.3089

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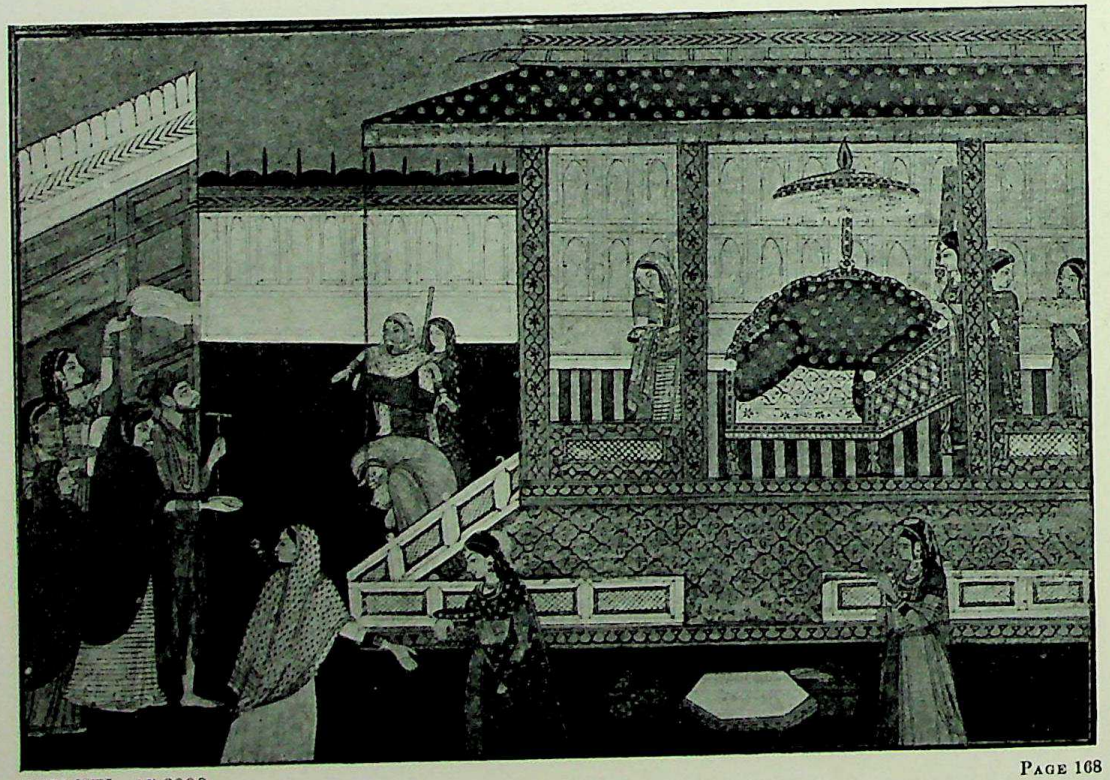


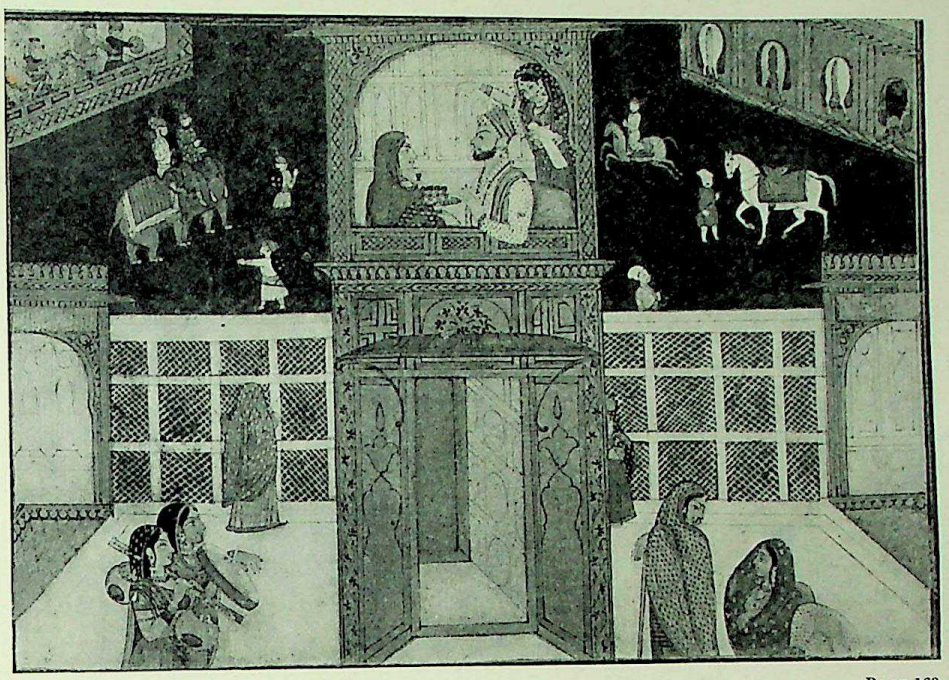
CCXCIV. 17.3090

PAGE 168

SUDĀMA

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCXCV. 17.3091

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CCXCVI. 17.2541

SUDĀMA

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

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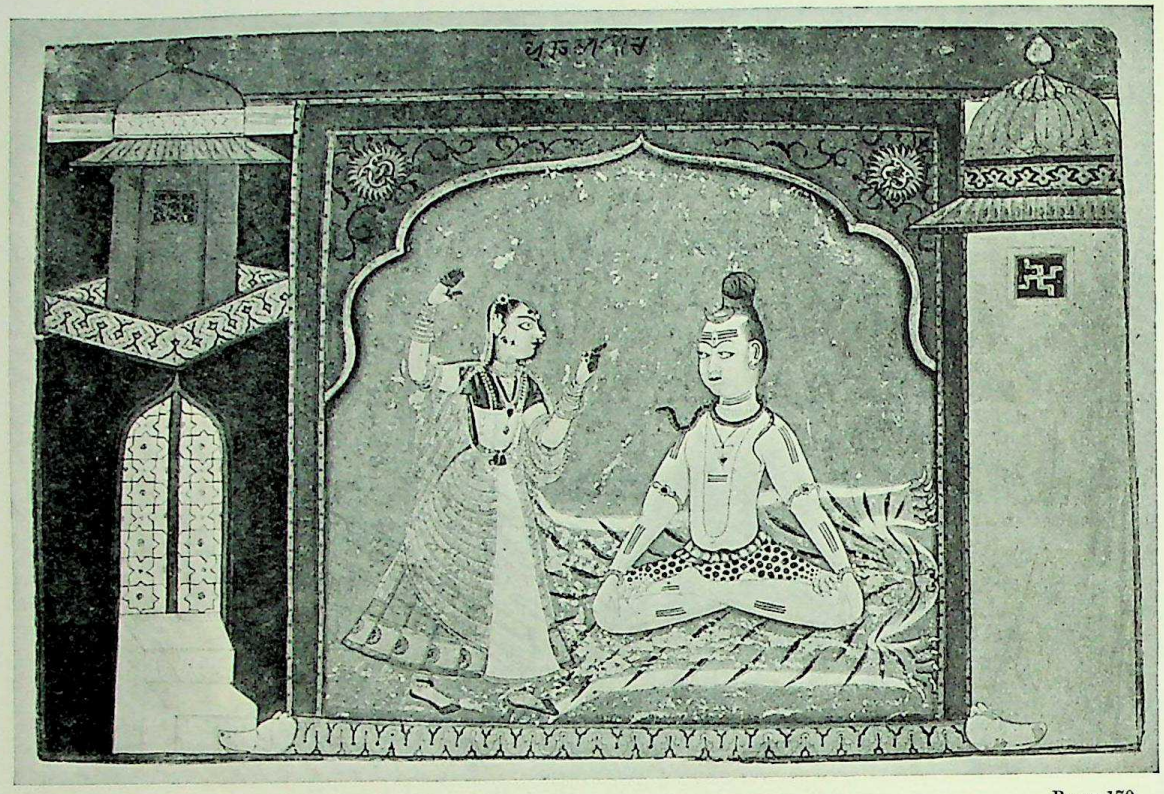
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

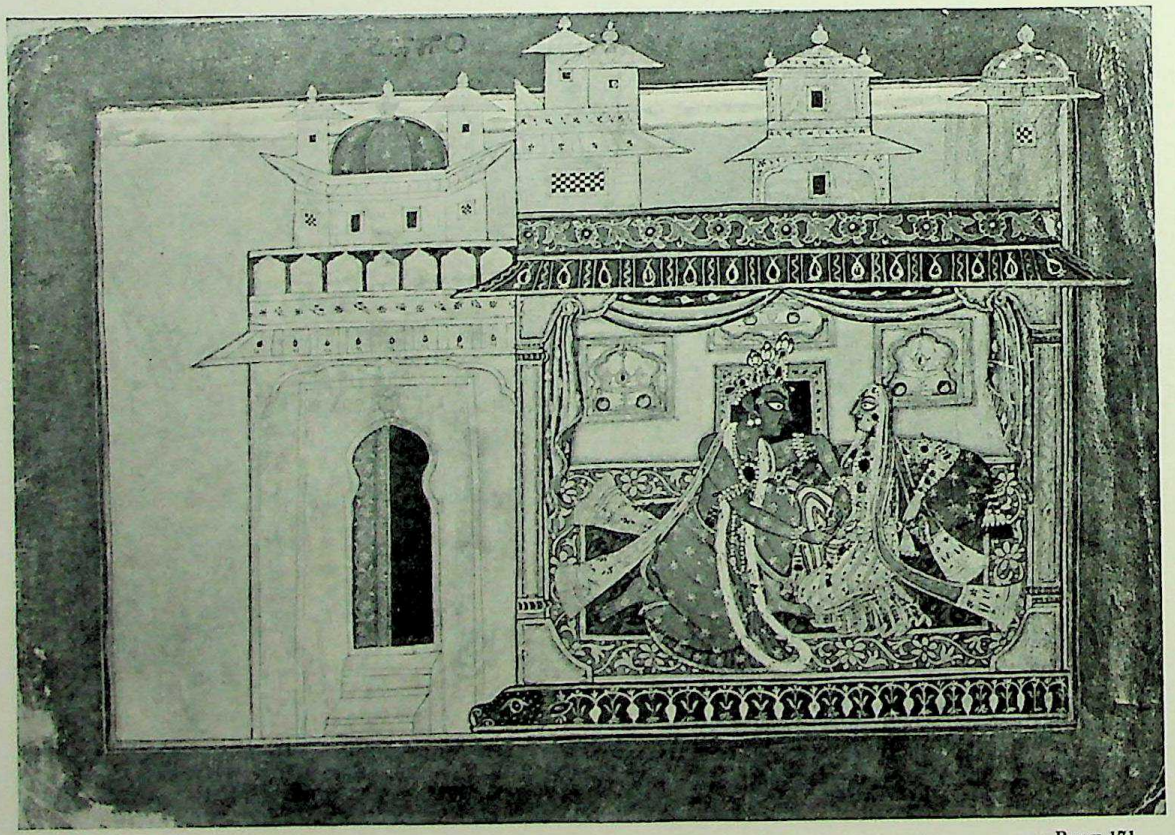
PLATE XCII



CCC. 17.2779

PAGE 170

PRAUḌHA-ADHĪRA NĀYAKĀ



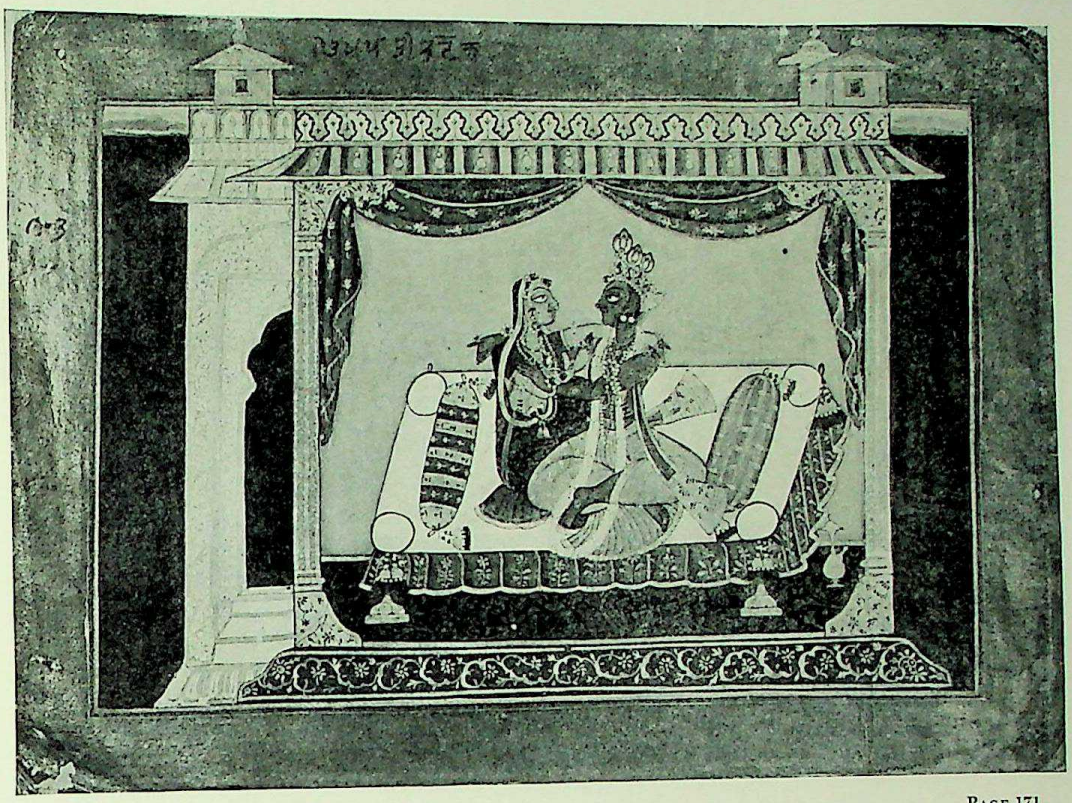
CCCI. 17.2780

PAGE 171

ŚAṬHA NĀYAKĀ

PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

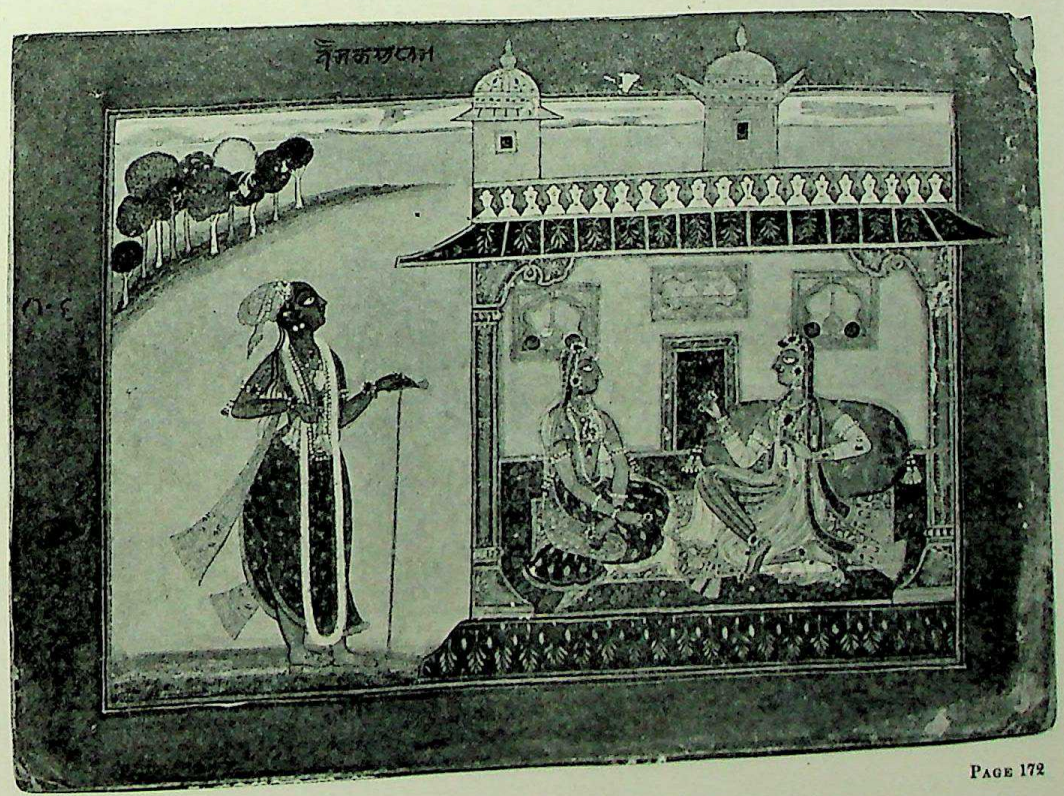
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCCII. 17.2781

PAGE 171

UPAPĀTĪ NĀYAKĀ



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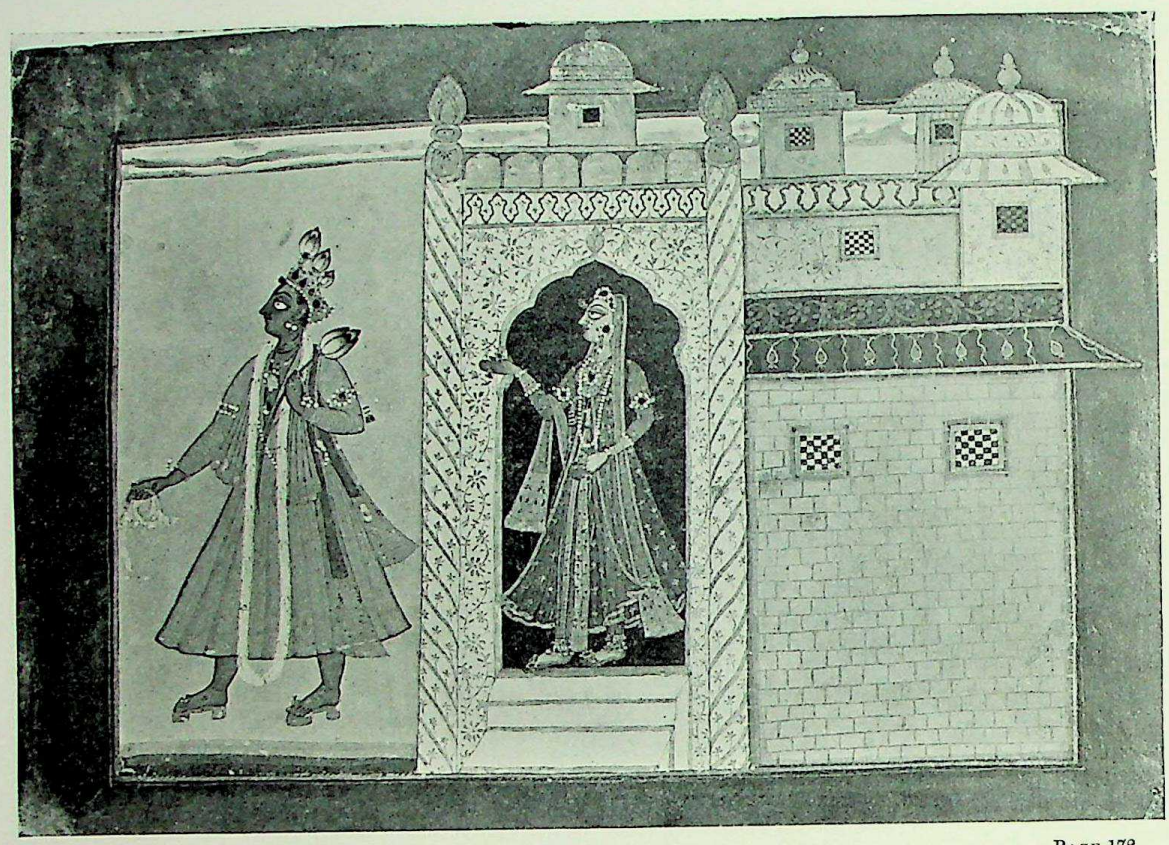
CCCIII. 17.2782

VAIŚIKA NĀYAKA

PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

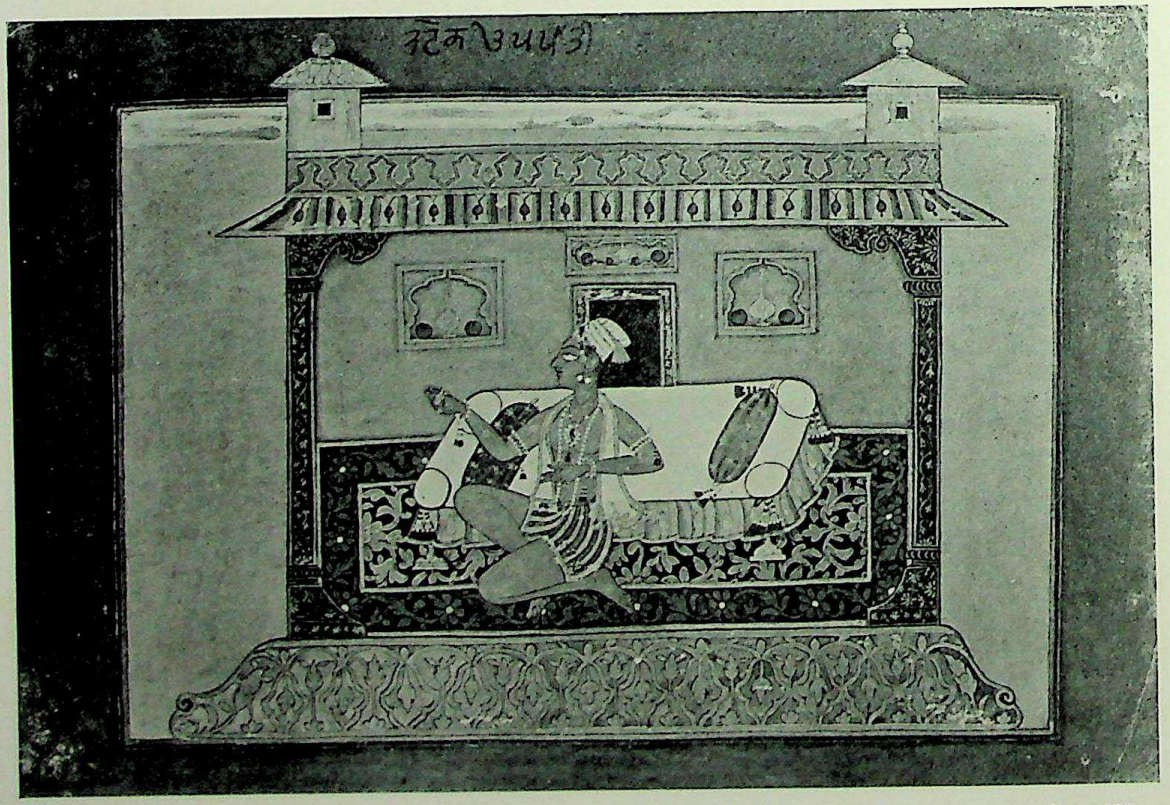
PLATE XCIV



CCCIV. 17.2783

PAGE 172

MĀNIŚAṬHA NĀYAKA



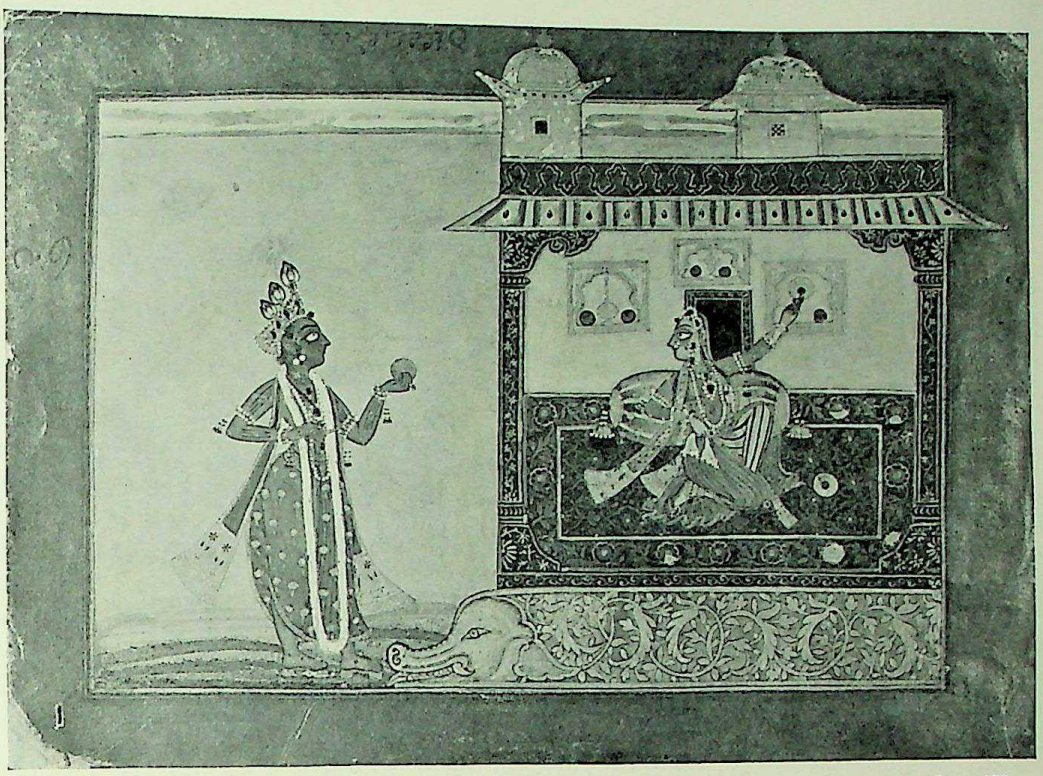
CCCV. 17.2784

PAGE 173

UPAPĀTĪ NAṬEKA

PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCCVI. 17.2785

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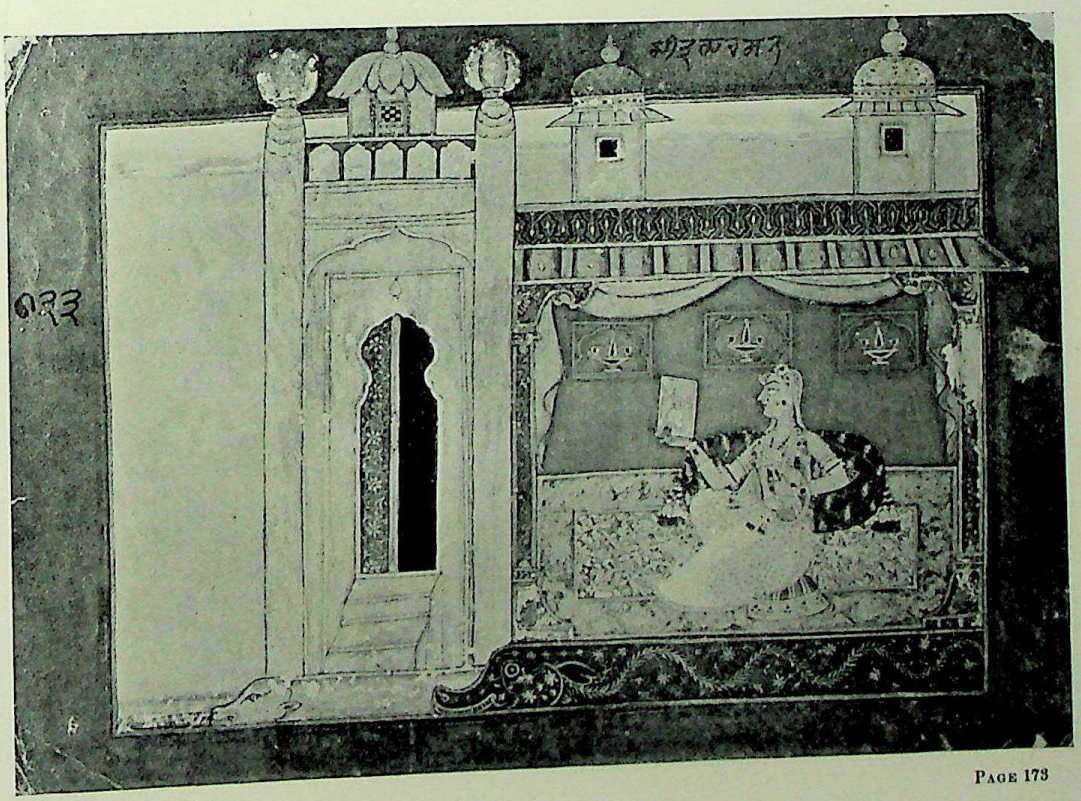
ŚAṬHA NĀYAKA



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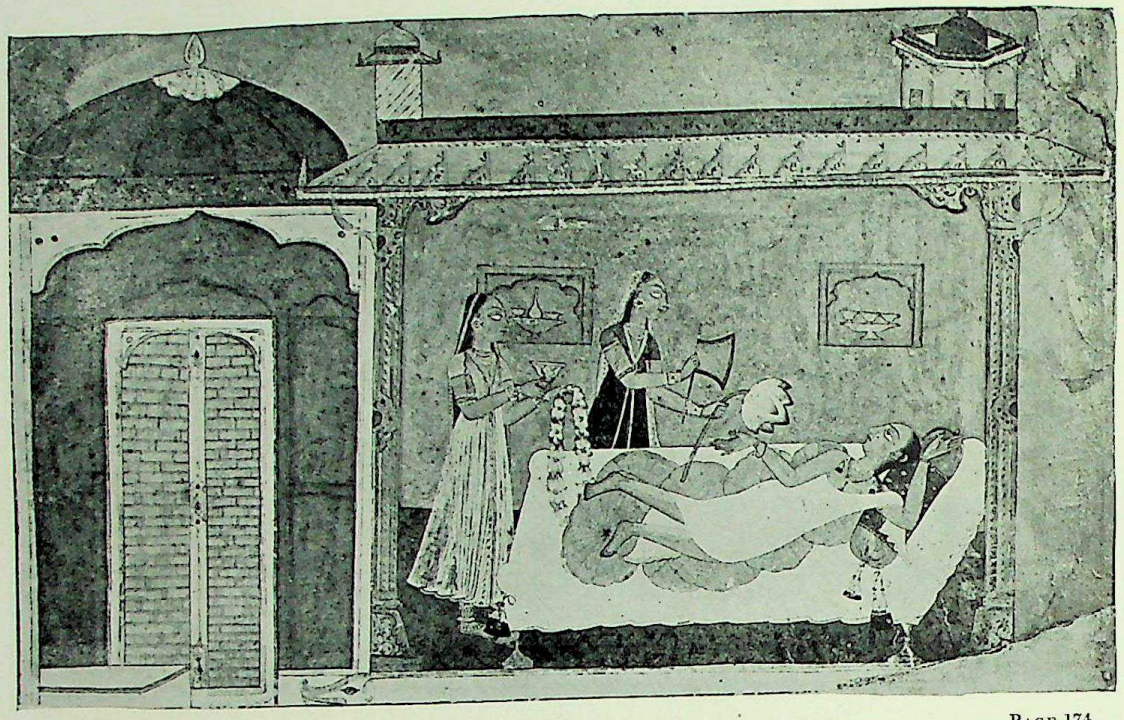
CCCVII. 17.2786

VIRAHINĪ

PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

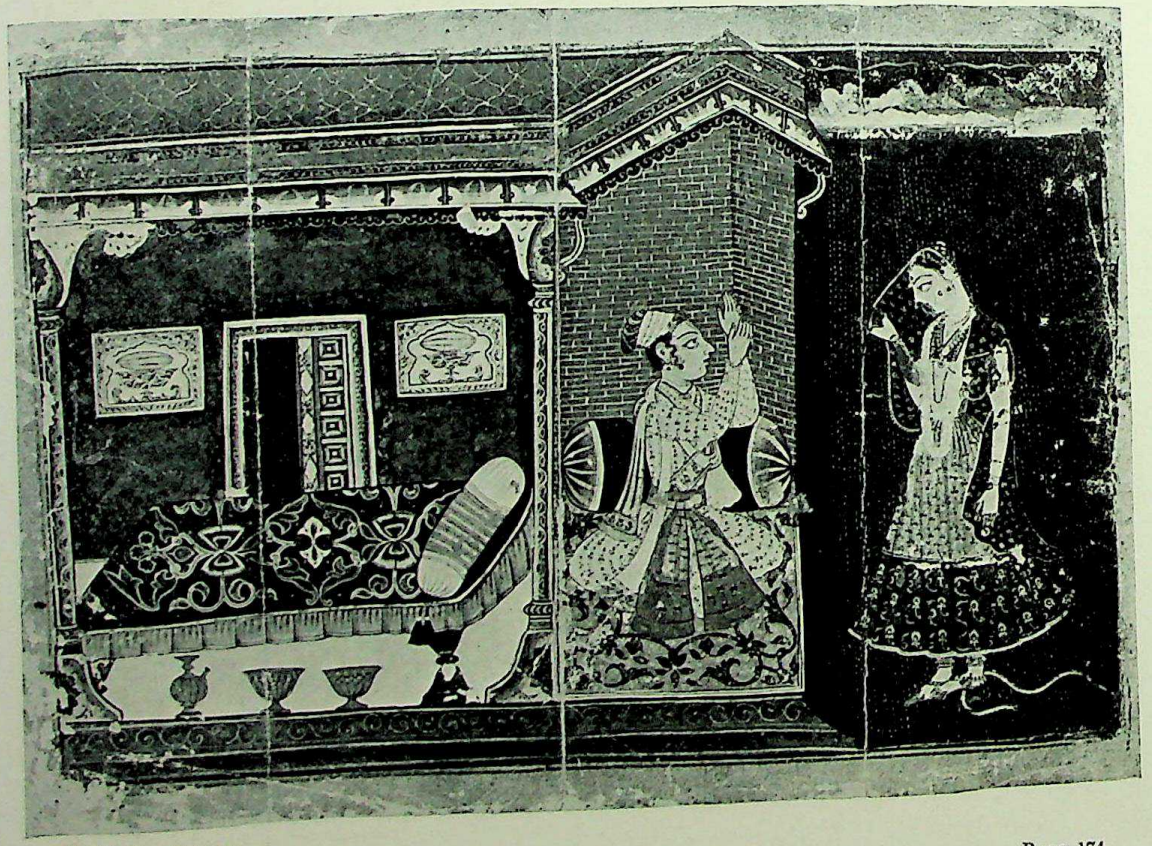
PLATE XCVI



CCCVIII. 17.3113

PAGE 174

VIRAHINĪ



CCCIX. 17.3115

PAGE 174

ABHISĀRIKĀ NĀYAKĀ

PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

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CCCX. 17.3203

VIRAHINĪ?

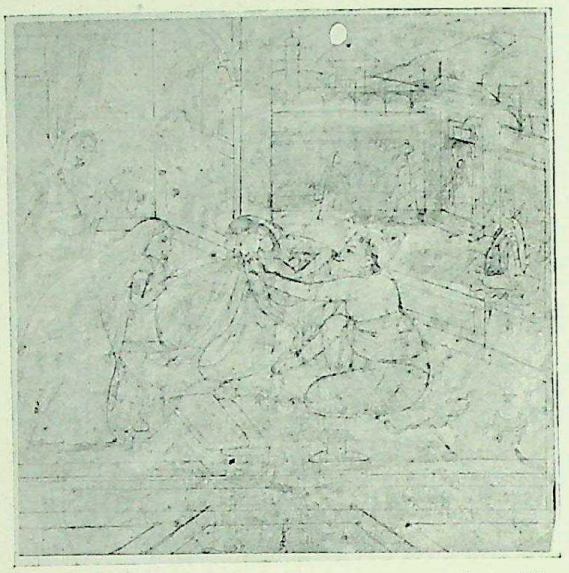
PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

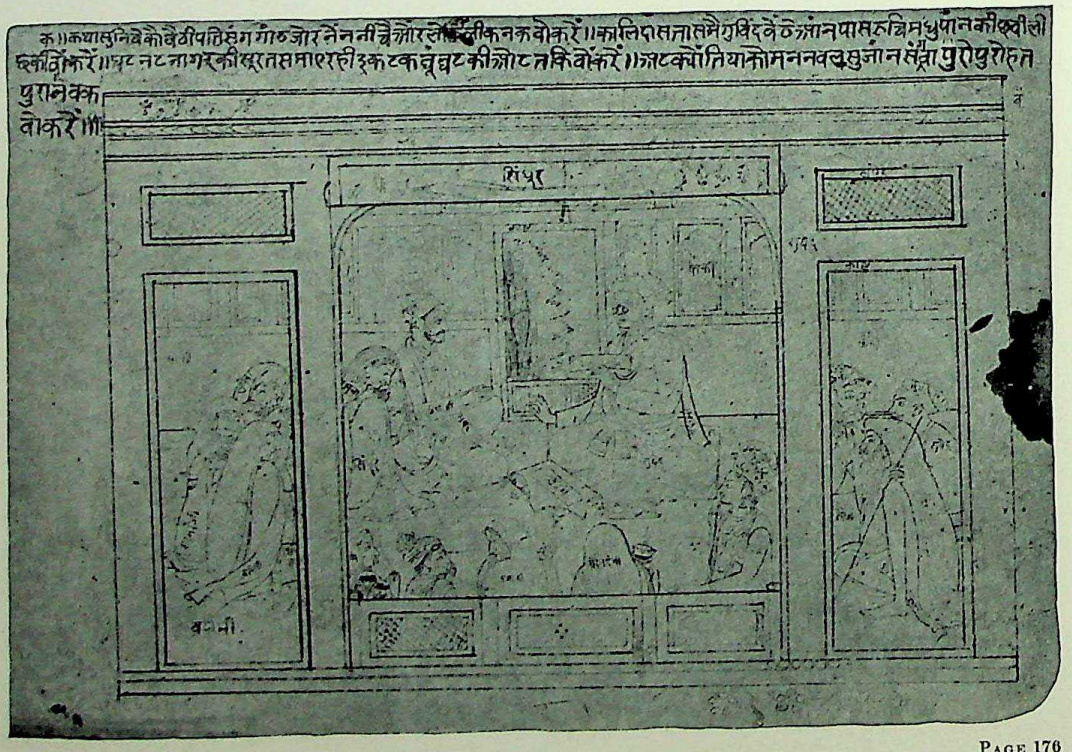
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE XCVIII

CCCXII. 17.2500 PAGE 176



CCCXI. 17.2499 PAGE 175

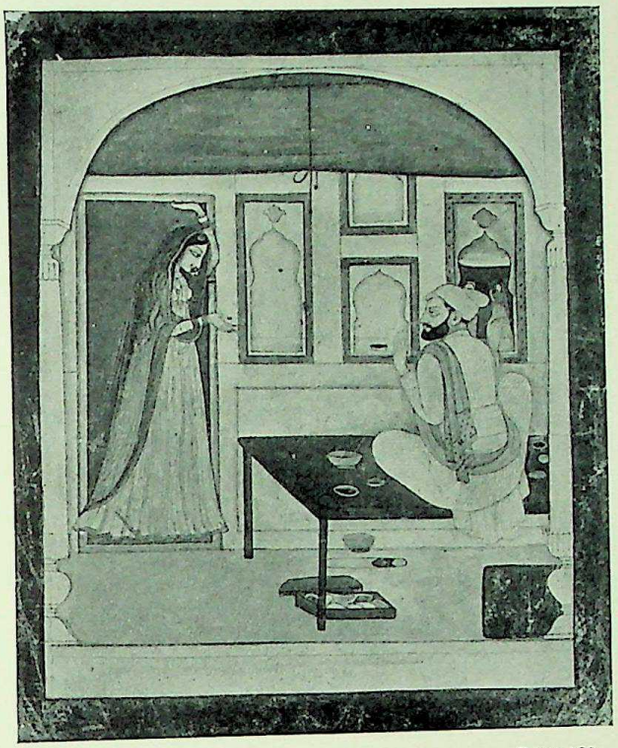


CCCXV. 17.2456 PAGE 176

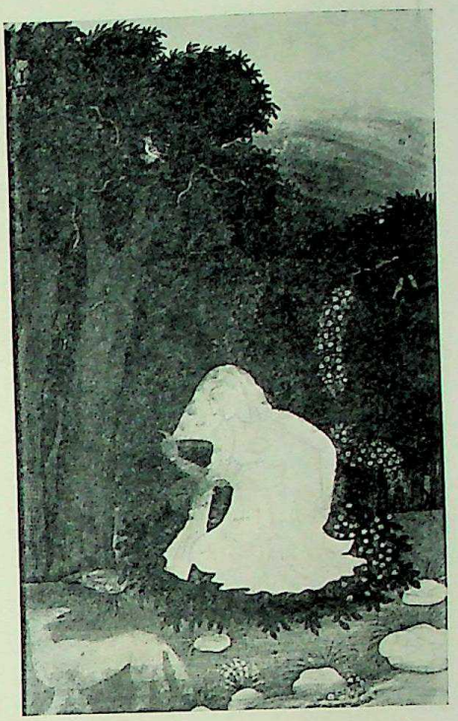
NĀYAKĀS

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

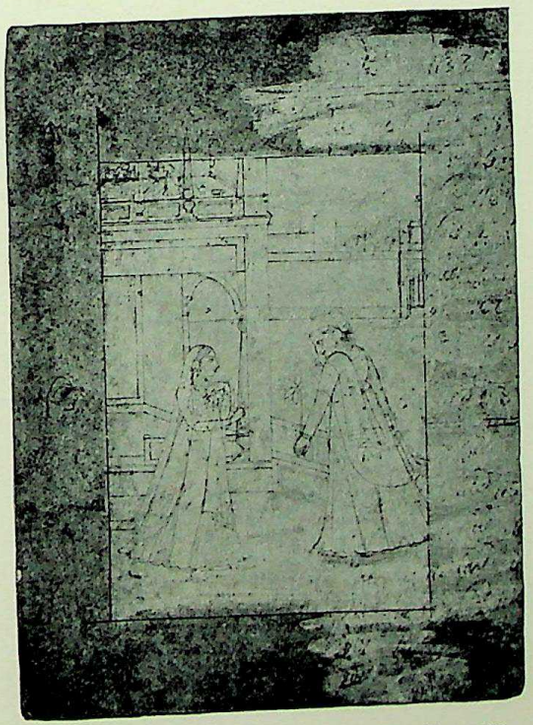
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CCCXLIV. 22.675 PAGE 189



CCCXXVIII. 17.2613 PAGE 182



CCCXXIII. 17.2495 PAGE 179

CCCXXV. 17.2660 PAGE 180

NĀYAKĀS

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ AND GAṚHWĀL

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE C

CCCXXXII. 17.2611

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ABHISĀRIKĀ NĀYAKĀ

CCCXXXIII. 17.2612

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ABHISĀRIKĀ NĀYAKĀ

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCXXXIV. 17.2653

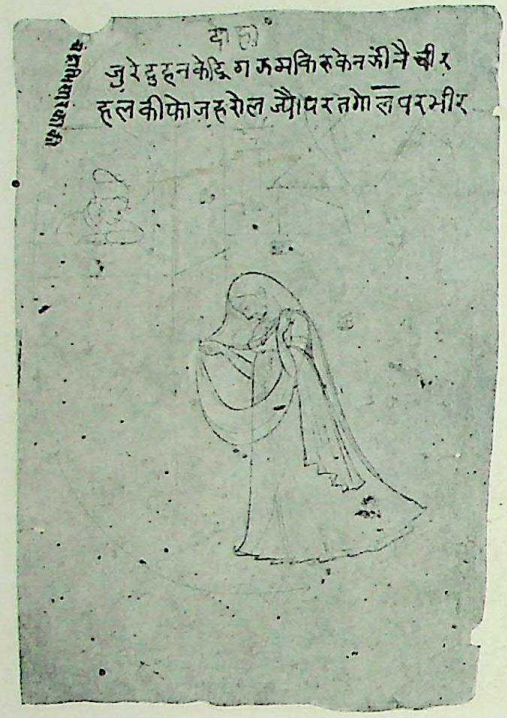
PAGE 184

ABHISĀRIKĀ NĀYAKĀ

PAHĀṚĪ, GAṚHWĀL

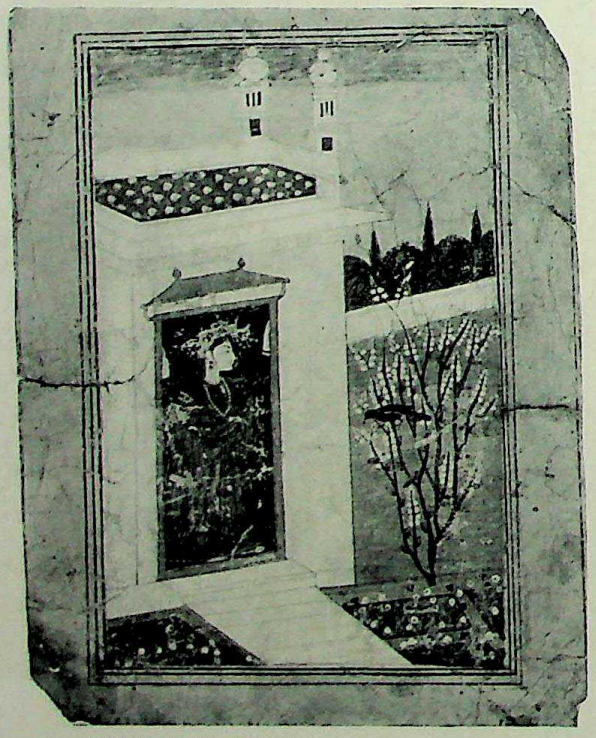
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE CII



CCCXXXVII. 17.2513 PAGE 186

CCCCXXXI. 17.2531 PAGE 209



CCCXXXIX. 17.2604 PAGE 187

CCCXXXVIII. 17.2492 PAGE 187

NĀYAKĀS

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀNGṚĀ

LXXVII. 17.2556 PAGE 99

MEGH RĀGA

CCCXLVII. 25.536 PAGE 191

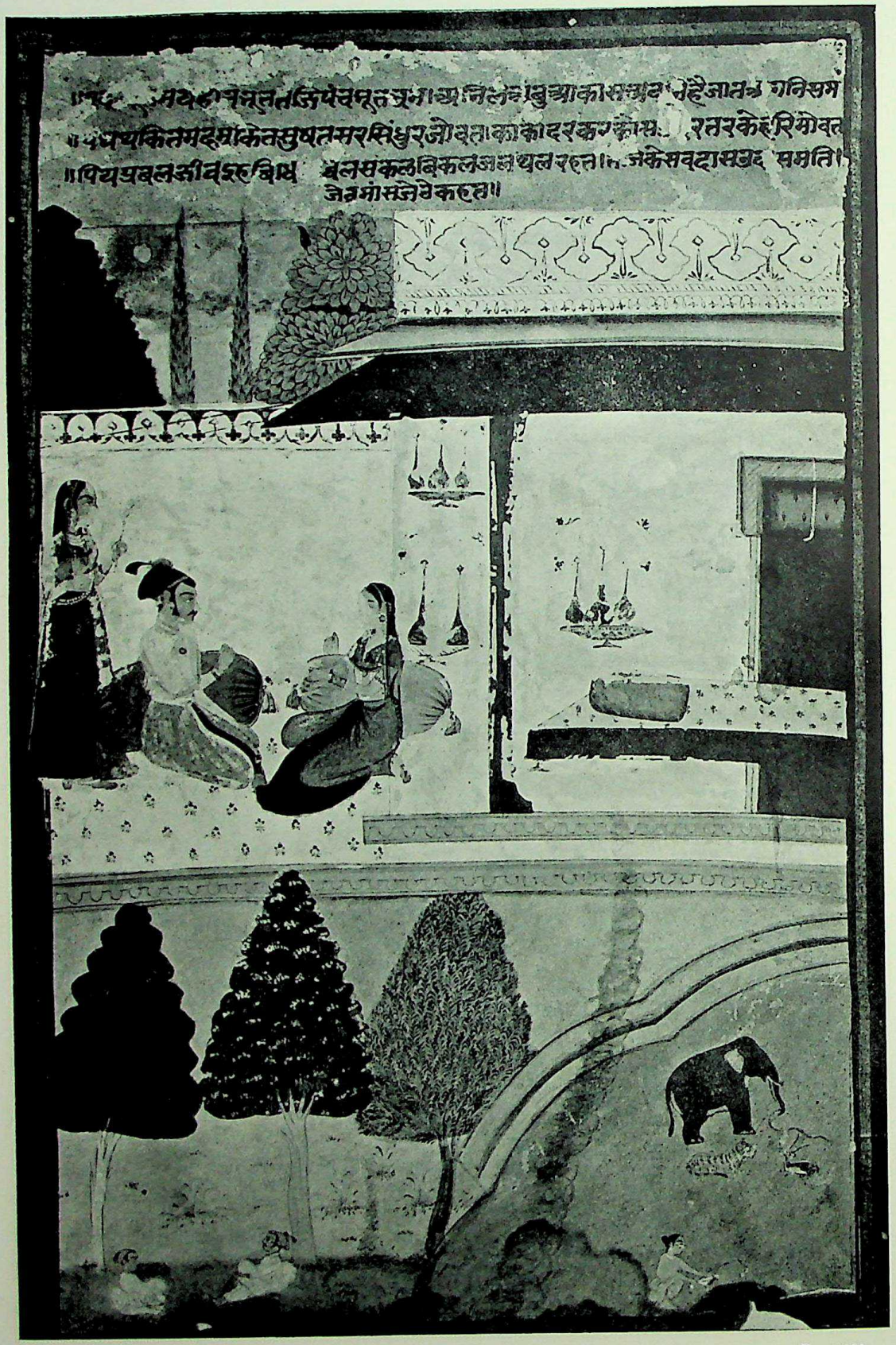
LĪLĀ-HĀVA

PAHĀṚĪ, KĀṄGṚĀ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE CIV



CCCXLVIII. 23.154

MONTH OF JYEṢṬH

RĀJASTHĀNĪ

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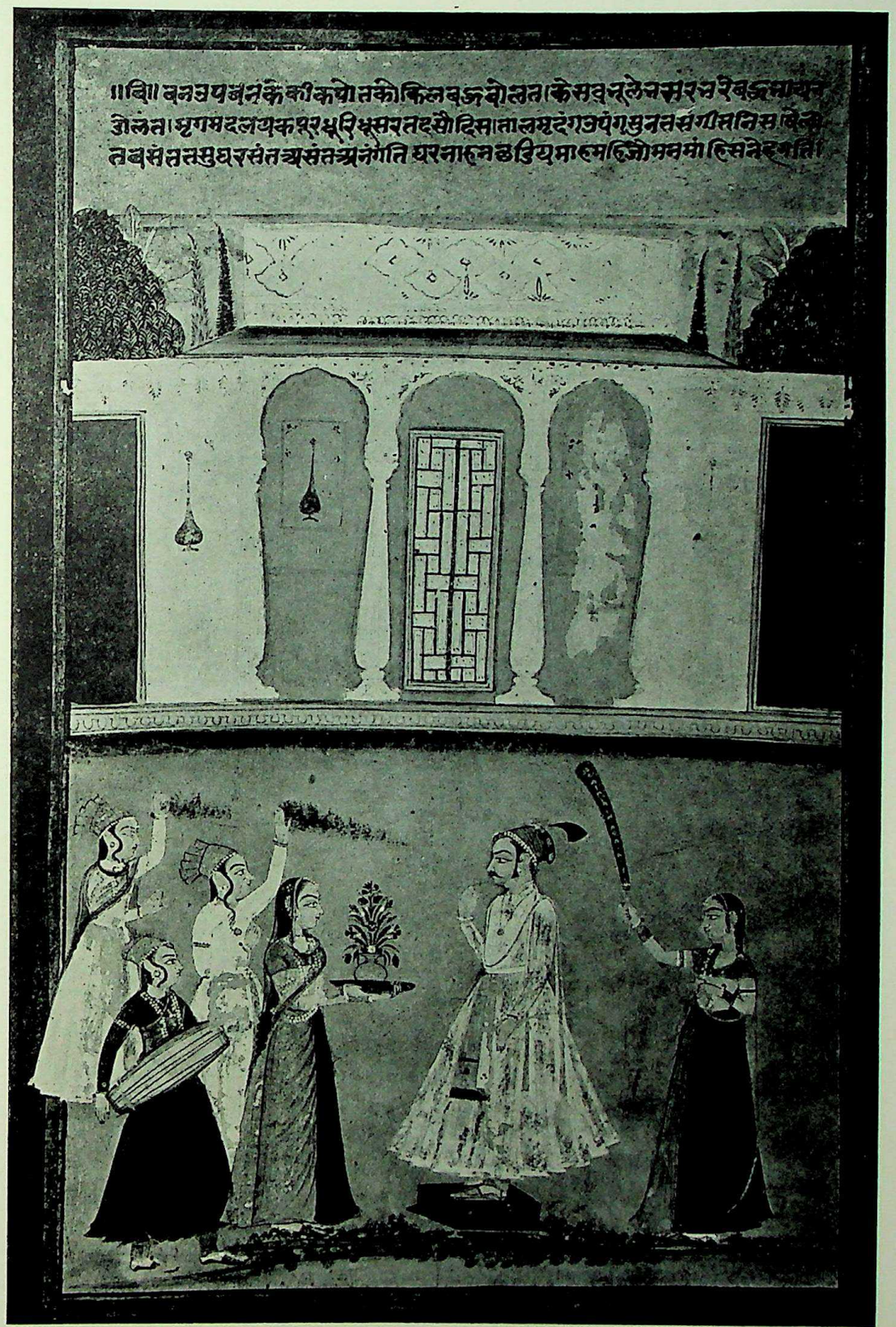

CCCXLIX. 23.155

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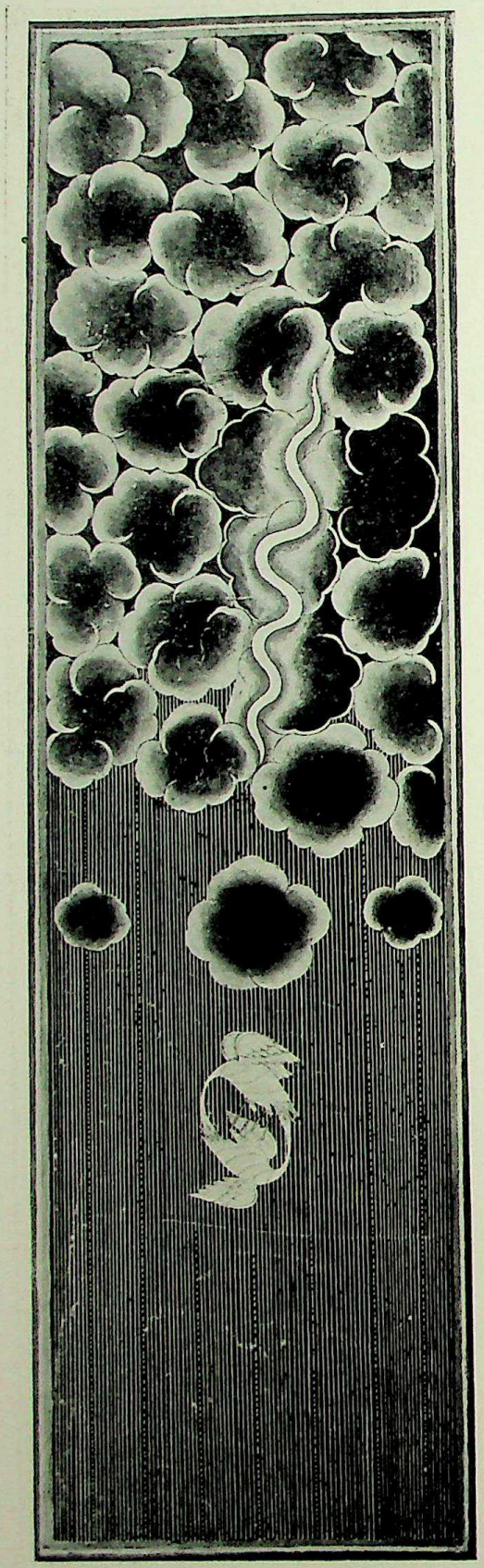
MONTH OF MĀGHA

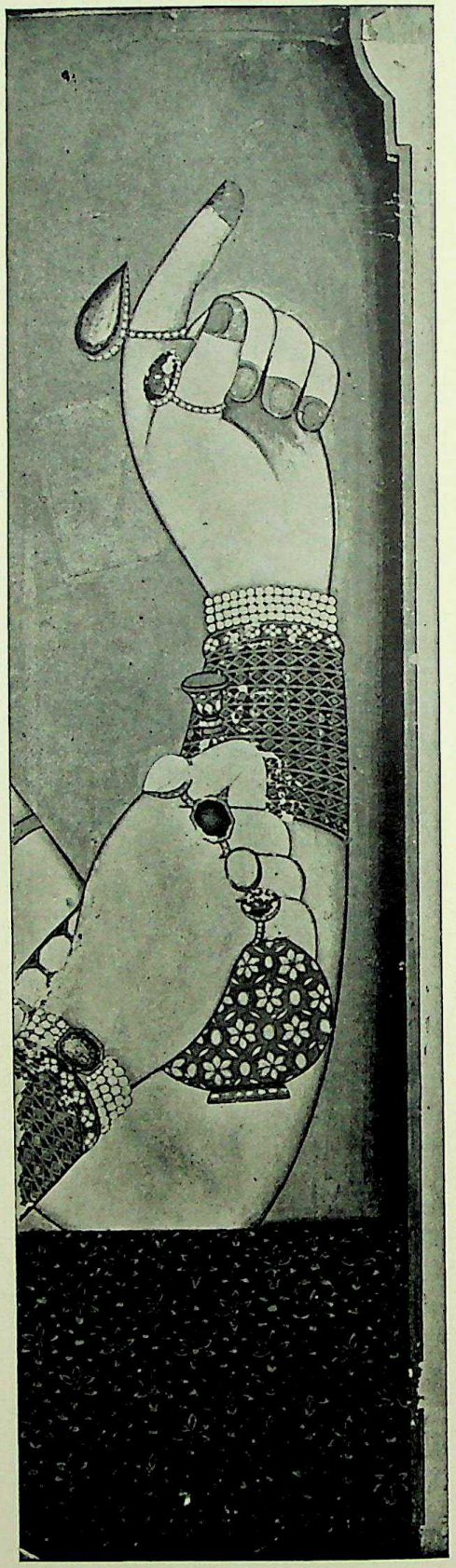
RĀJASTHĀNĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE CVI



CCCXCIV B. 17.1607 PAGE 201

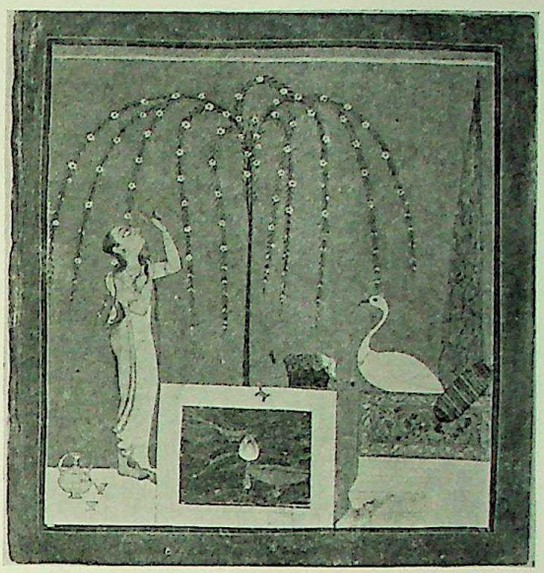


CCCXCIV. 17.3080 PAGE 200

RĀJASTHĀNĪ, DETAILS

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCC. 17.2799 PAGE 203



CCCCI. 17.2800 PAGE 203

CCCXCVIII. 17.2797 PAGE 202

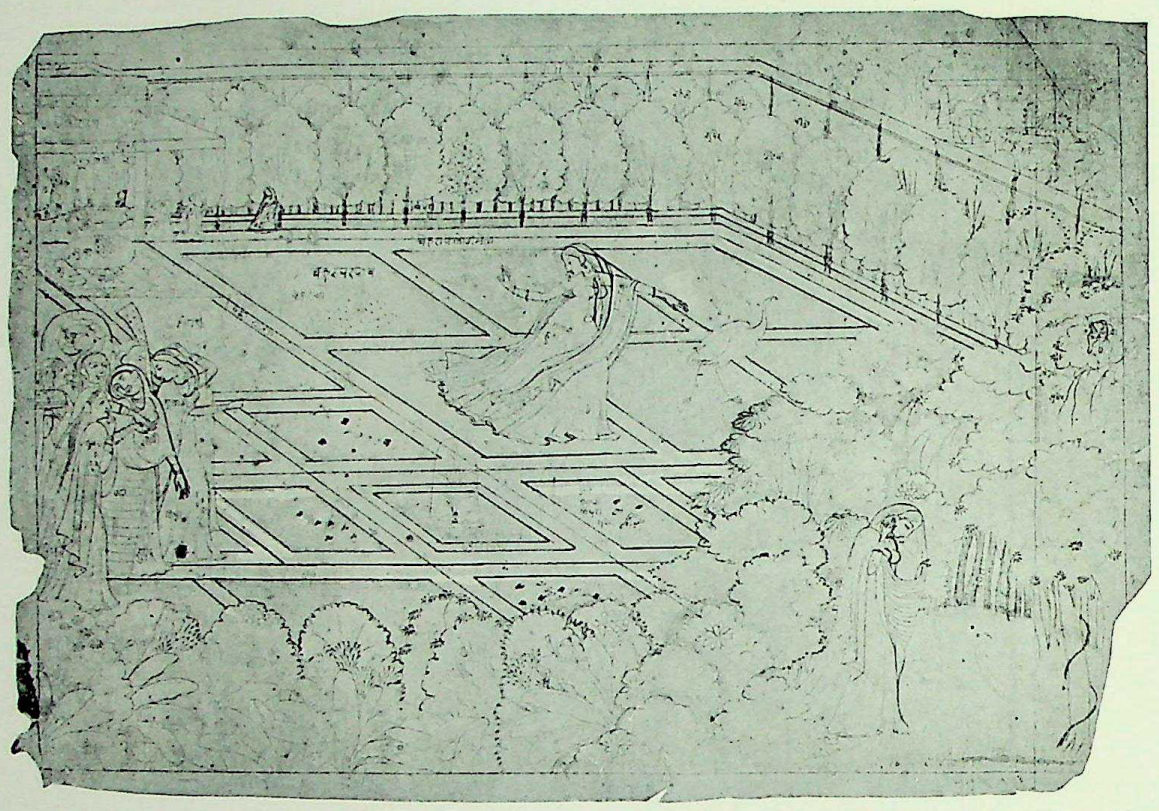
CCCXCIX. 17.2798 PAGE 202

BATHING SCENES

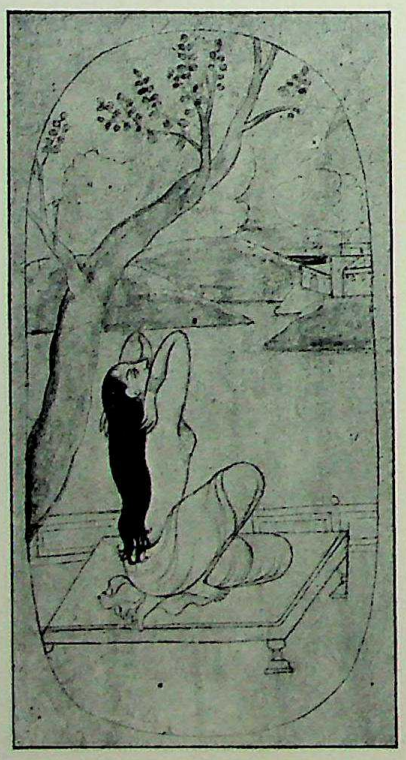
PAHĀṚĪ, JAMŪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

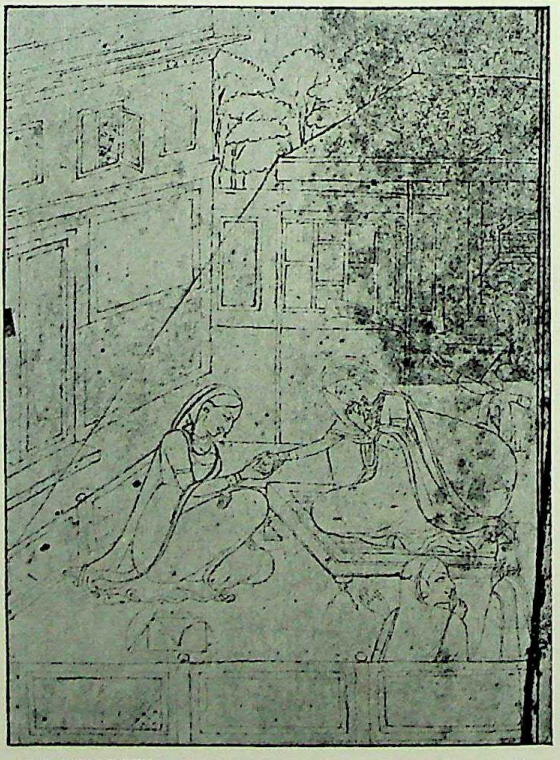
PLATE CVIII



CCCCXXVI. 17.2449 PAGE 208

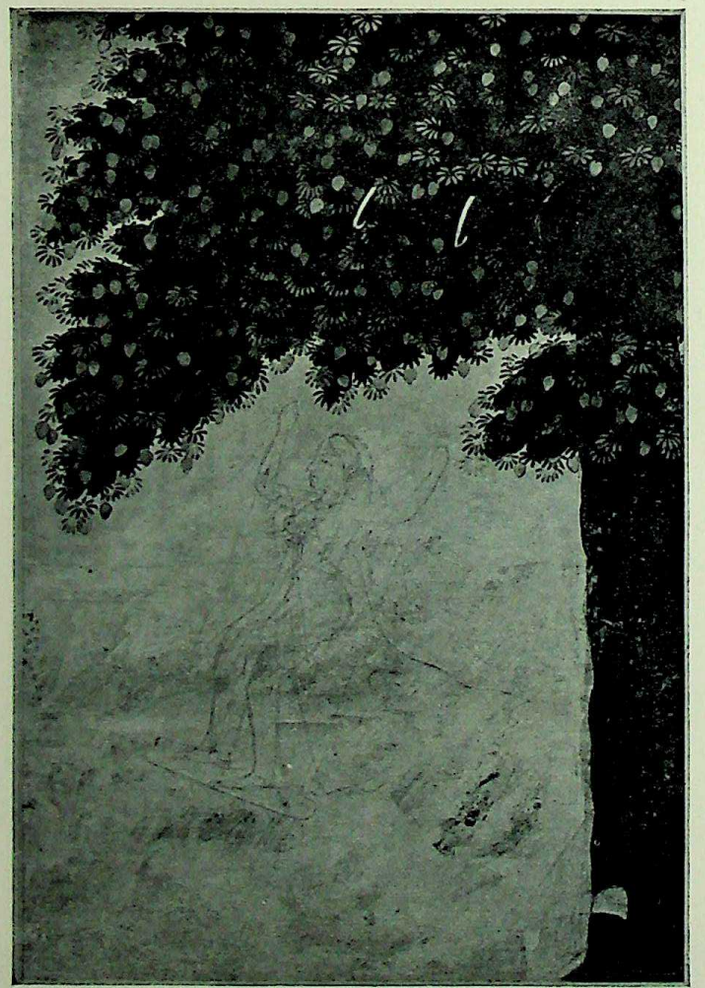


CCCCXLV. 17.2534 PAGE 212

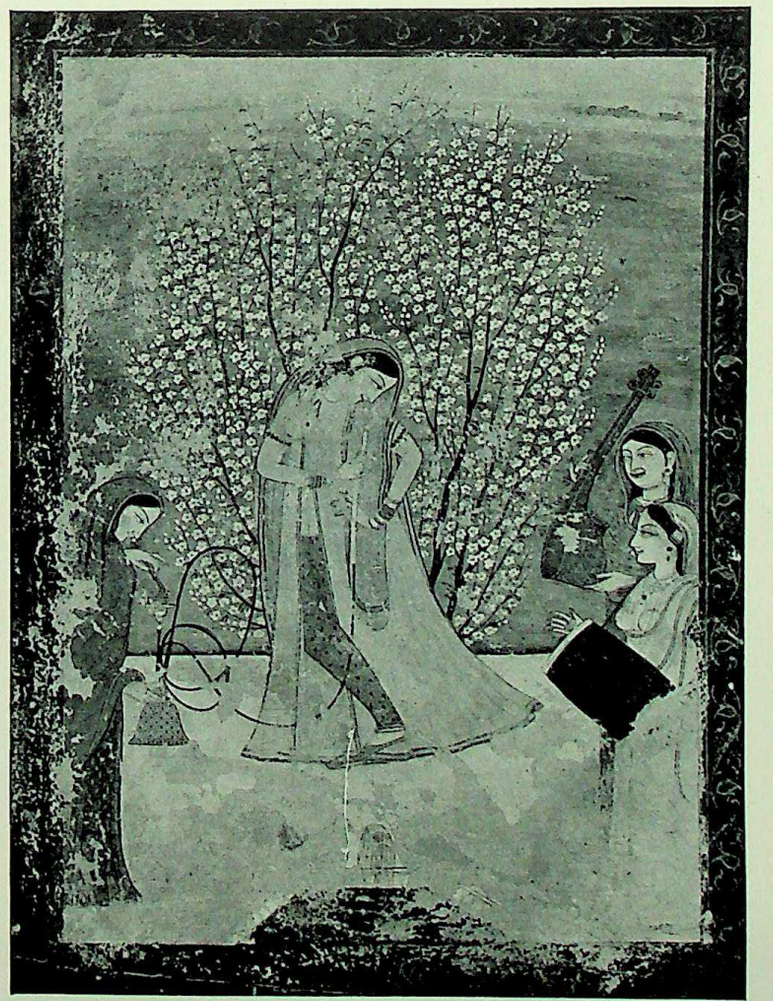


CCCCXLIII. 17.2520 PAGE 211

PAHĀṚĪ, MISCELLANEOUS



CCCCXLIX. 17.2616 PAGE 213



CCCCXXIX. 17.2602 PAGE 208

PAHĀṚĪ, MISCELLANEOUS

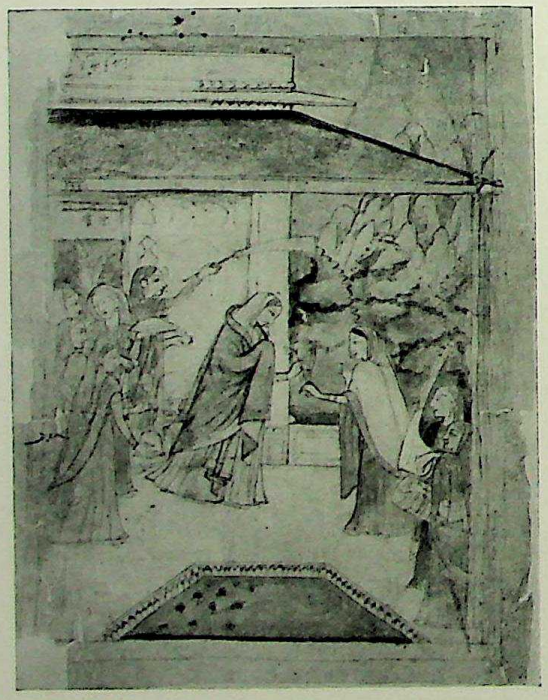
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

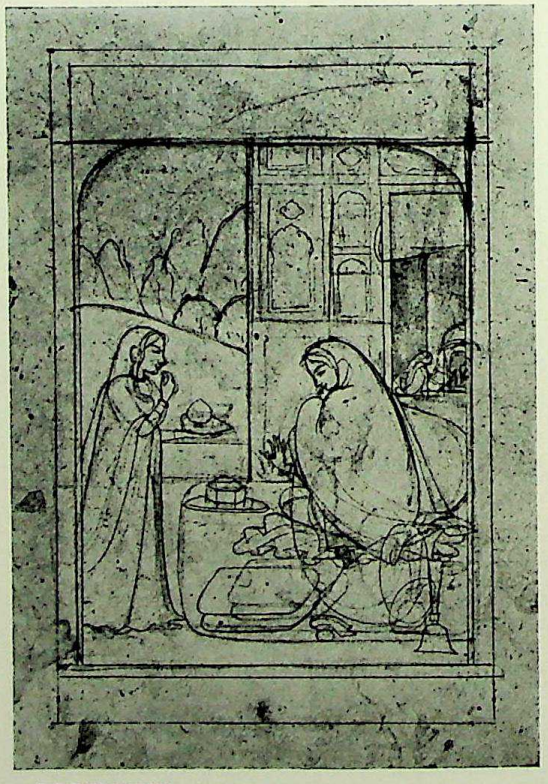
PLATE CX

CCCCXXI. 17.2603 PAGE 207

CCCXCVI. 17.2566 PAGE 202



CCCCXII. 17.2511 PAGE 205



CCCCXXXV. 17.2522 PAGE 210

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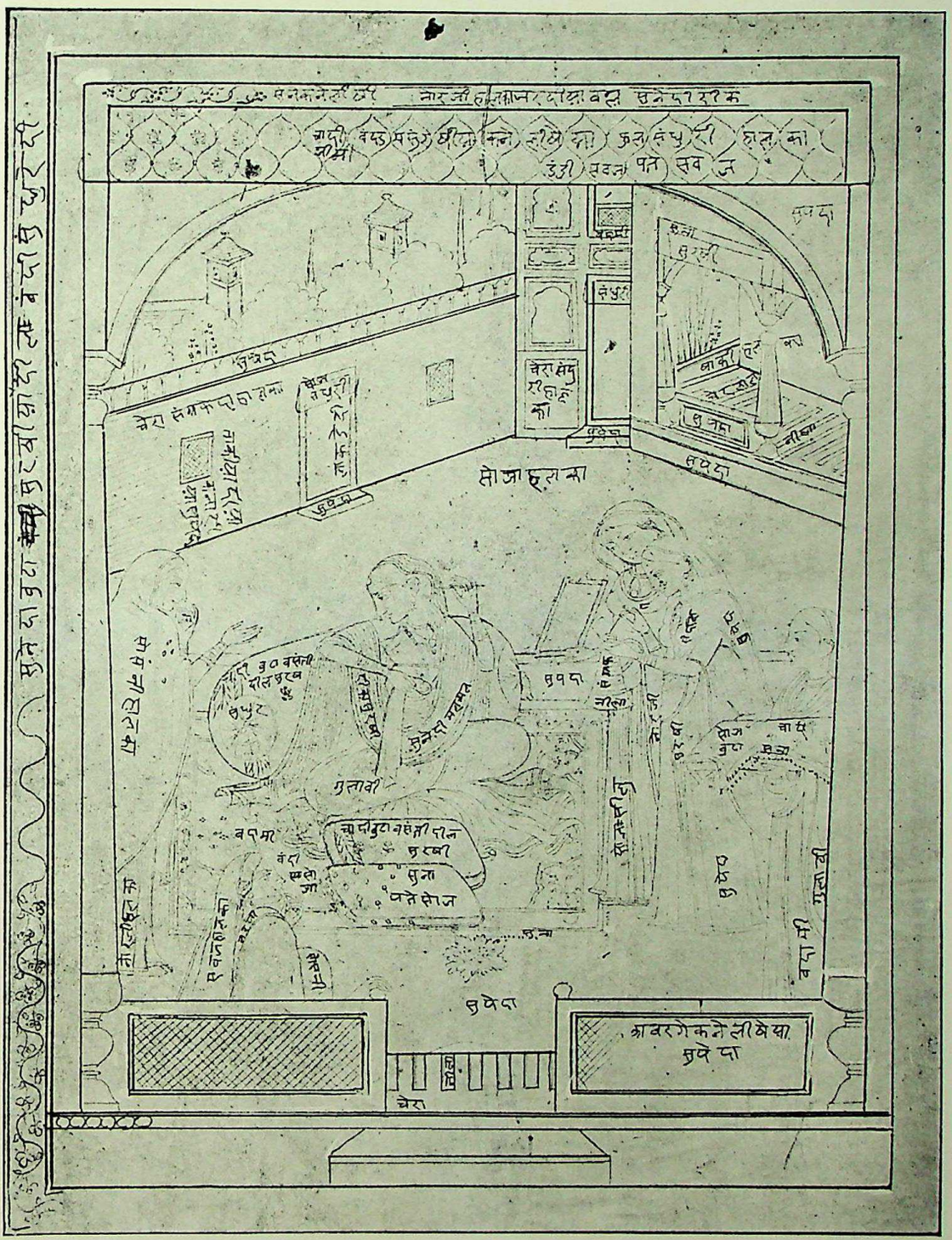

CCCCXLII. 17.2540

TOILET SCENE

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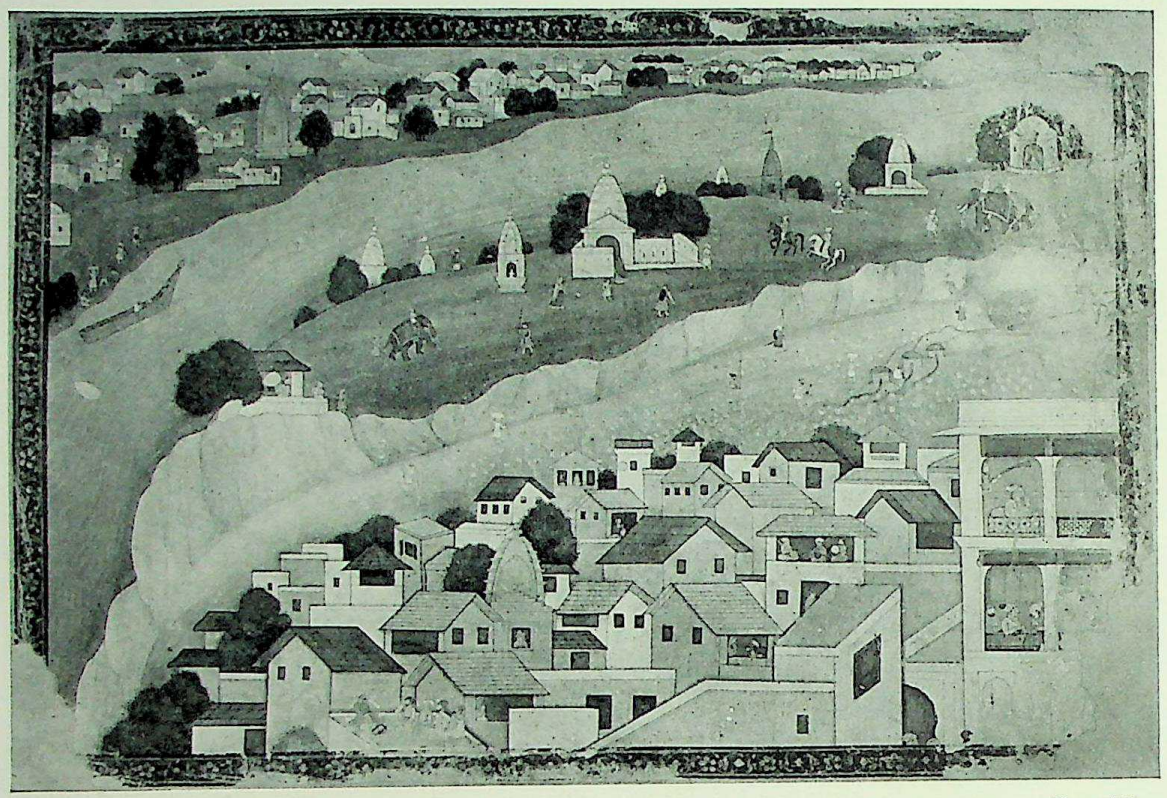
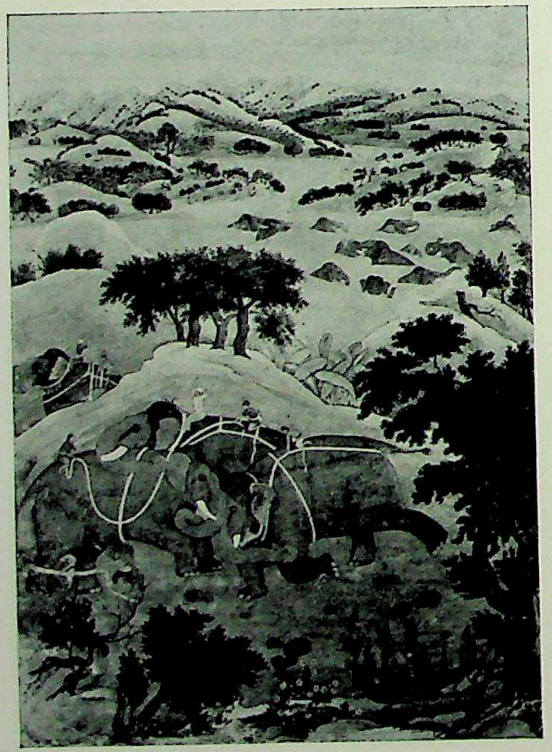
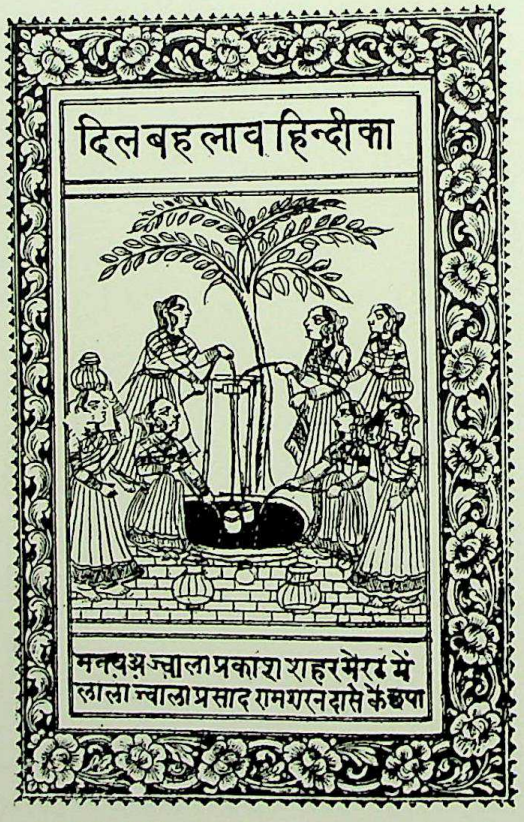


CCCCLVII. 17.2627 PAGE 214



CCCCL. 17.2626 PAGE 213

ELEPHANT HUNT



CCCCLVIII. 17.3119 PAGE 214

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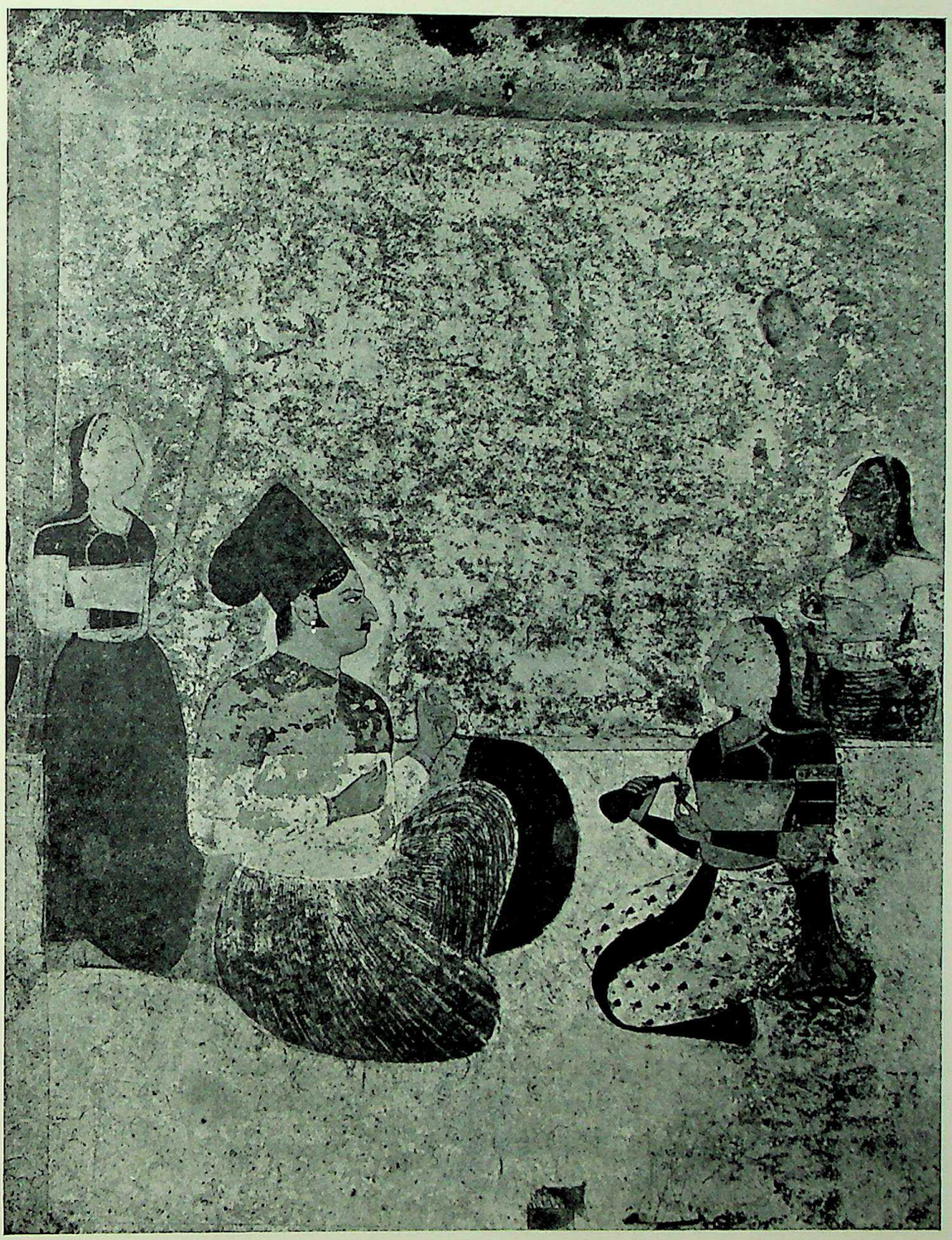

CCCCLXIV. 25.427

PAGE 216

MAHĀRĀJĀ ABHAI SIṄGH-JĪ

RĀJASTHĀNĪ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CCCCLXI. 17.2922

A RĀJĀ OF JODHPUR

RĀJASTHĀNĪ

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CCCCLXVI. 17.2938 PAGE 216

MĀDHO SINGH OF JAIPUR?

CCCCLXV. 15.84 PAGE 216

MĀDHO SINGH OF JAIPUR?

CCCCLXXI. 17.2934 PAGE 217

PRATĀP SINGH? OF JAIPUR

CCCCLXII. 17.2935 PAGE 215

HAL SINGH OF JODHPUR

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PRATĀP SINGH OF JAIPUR

CCCCLXXXVII. 26.4 PAGE 220

BAGAT SINGH OF RĪSAB

CCCCLXXXVI. 25.535 PAGE 220

RĀVAT JASVANT SINGH

CCCCLXXXV. 25.523 PAGE 219

MAHĀRĀS UMED SINGH

RĀJASTHĀNĪ PORTRAITS

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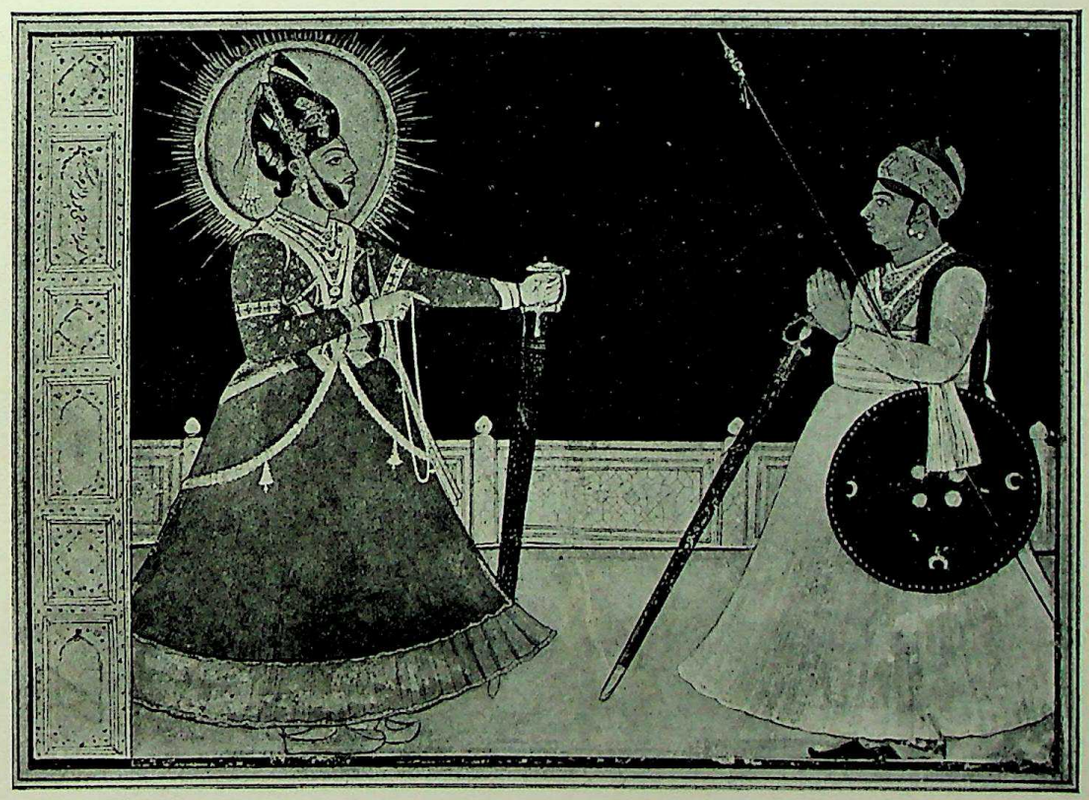
CCCCLXVII. 17.2917 PAGE 216

MAHĀRĀJĀ OF JAIPUR

CCCCLX. 17.2921 PAGE 215

RĀJĀ RĀM SIṄGH



CCCCLXX. 25.210 PAGE 217

JAGAT SIṄGH OF JAIPUR

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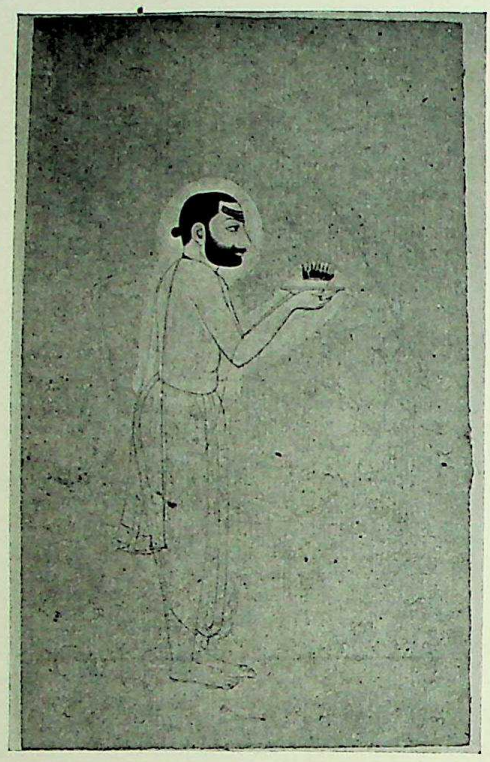

CCCCXCVIII. 17.2965 PAGE 222

ŚAIVA PŪJĀRĪ

D. 17.2929 PAGE 222

KHAWĀS SĪYĀ RĀM

DXLVII. 17.2977 PAGE 229

YOUNG PRINCE

DVIII. 17.2982 PAGE 224

MANĀ LĀL DARĀGO

RĀJASTHĀNĪ PORTRAITS

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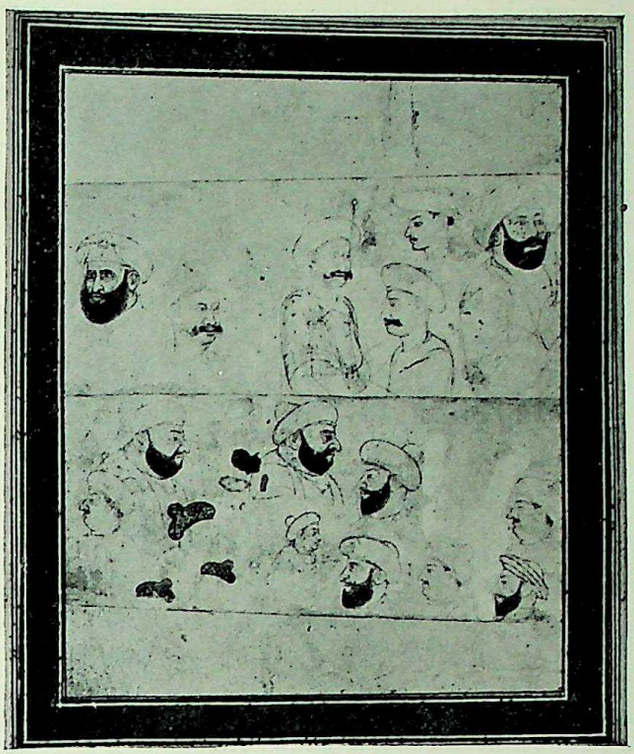
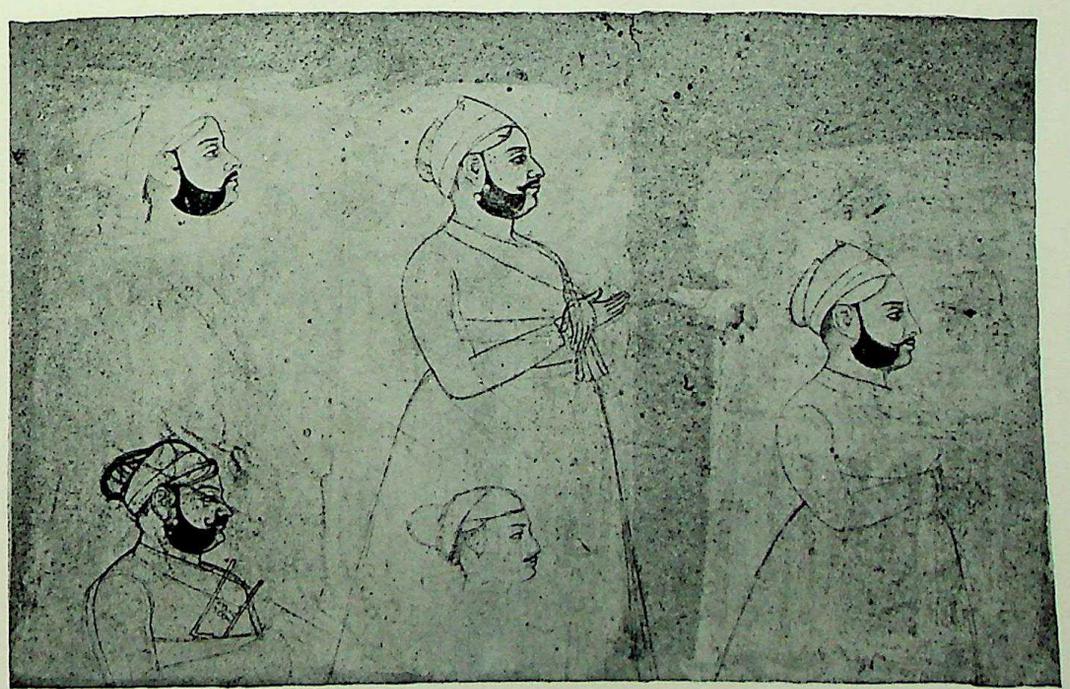
CCCCLXXXIII. 17.2986 PAGE 219



DXV. 15.90 PAGE 225



DXXXI. 17.2948 PAGE 227

RĀJASTHĀNĪ PORTRAITS

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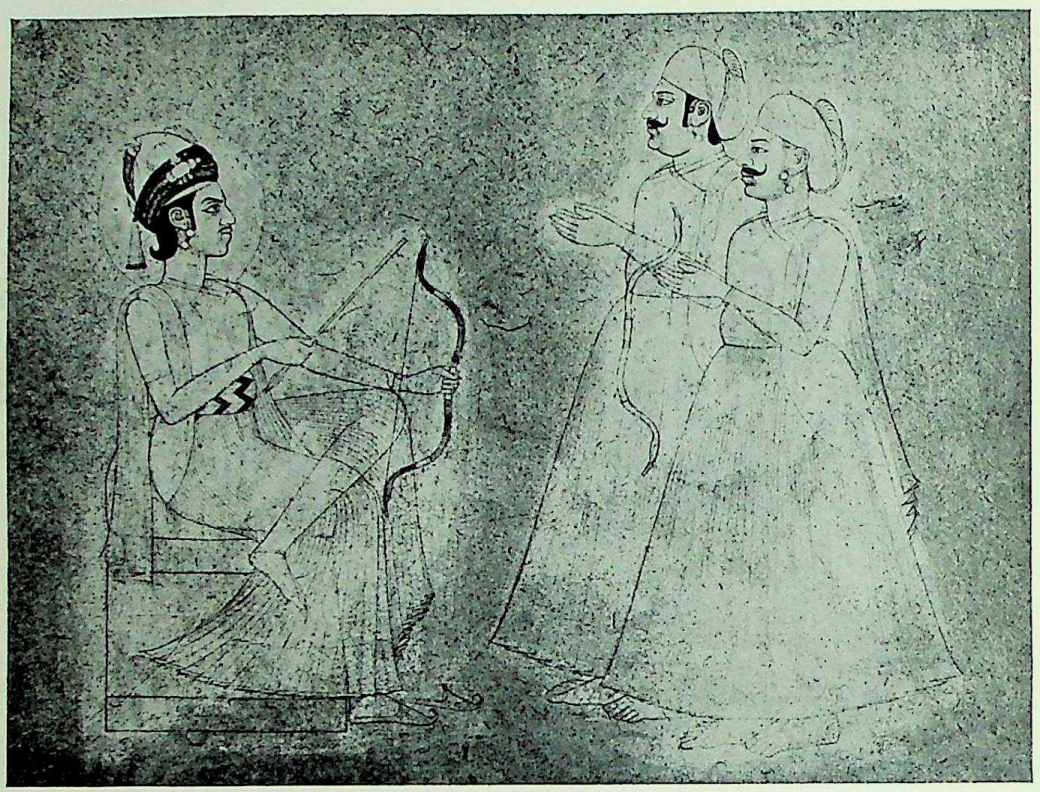
PLATE CXX



CCCCLXXII. 17.2939 PAGE 217

RĀJPUT PRINCE

DXIII. 17.2999 PAGE 225

LORD METCALFE

RĀJASTHĀNĪ PORTRAITS

DLXXXVIII. 17.2760 PAGE 235

RĀJĀ HATAF BANDRĀL

DLXXXVII. 17.2759 PAGE 235

A HILL RĀJĀ

PAHĀṚĪ PORTRAITS

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PLATE CXXII

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DXC. 17.2762 PAGE 236

PAHĀṚĪ PORTRAITS

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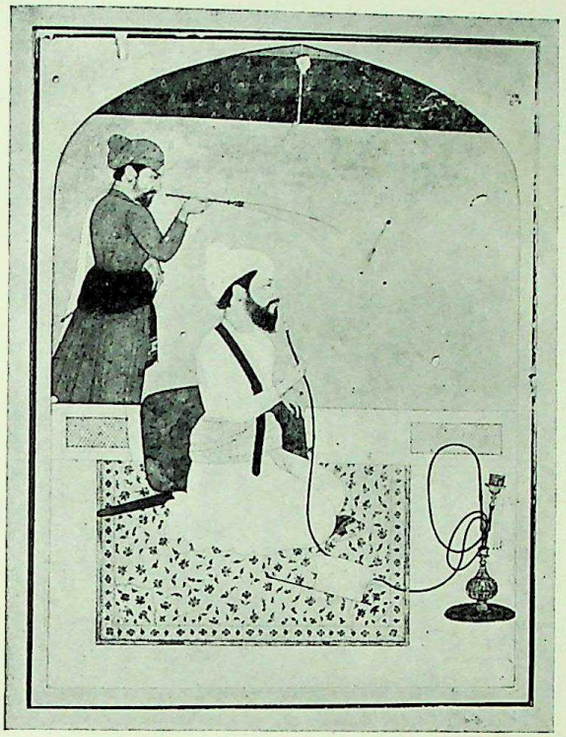
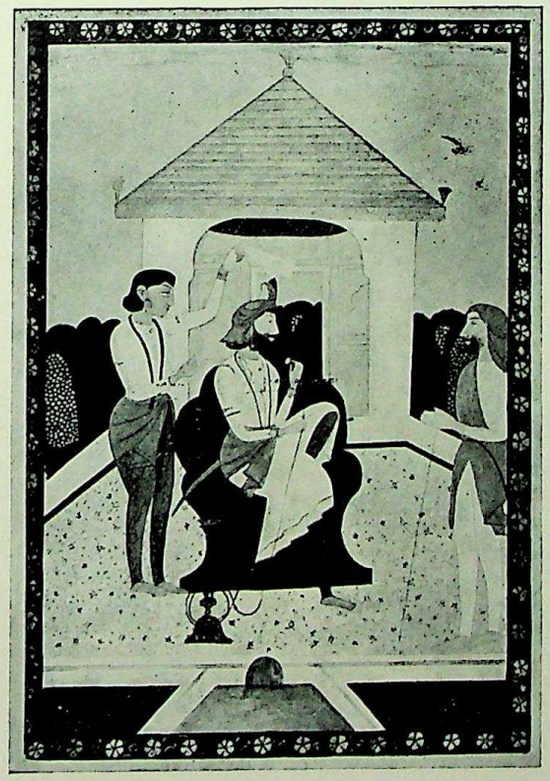


DCI. 17.2700 PAGE 238

PRAKĀŚ CAND OF GULER

DXCVI. 17.2702 PAGE 237

RĀJĀ SAṀSĀR CAND



DXCI. 15.55 PAGE 236

ŚRĪ CET SIṄGH OF JAMŪ

DCXIX. 17.2715 PAGE 241

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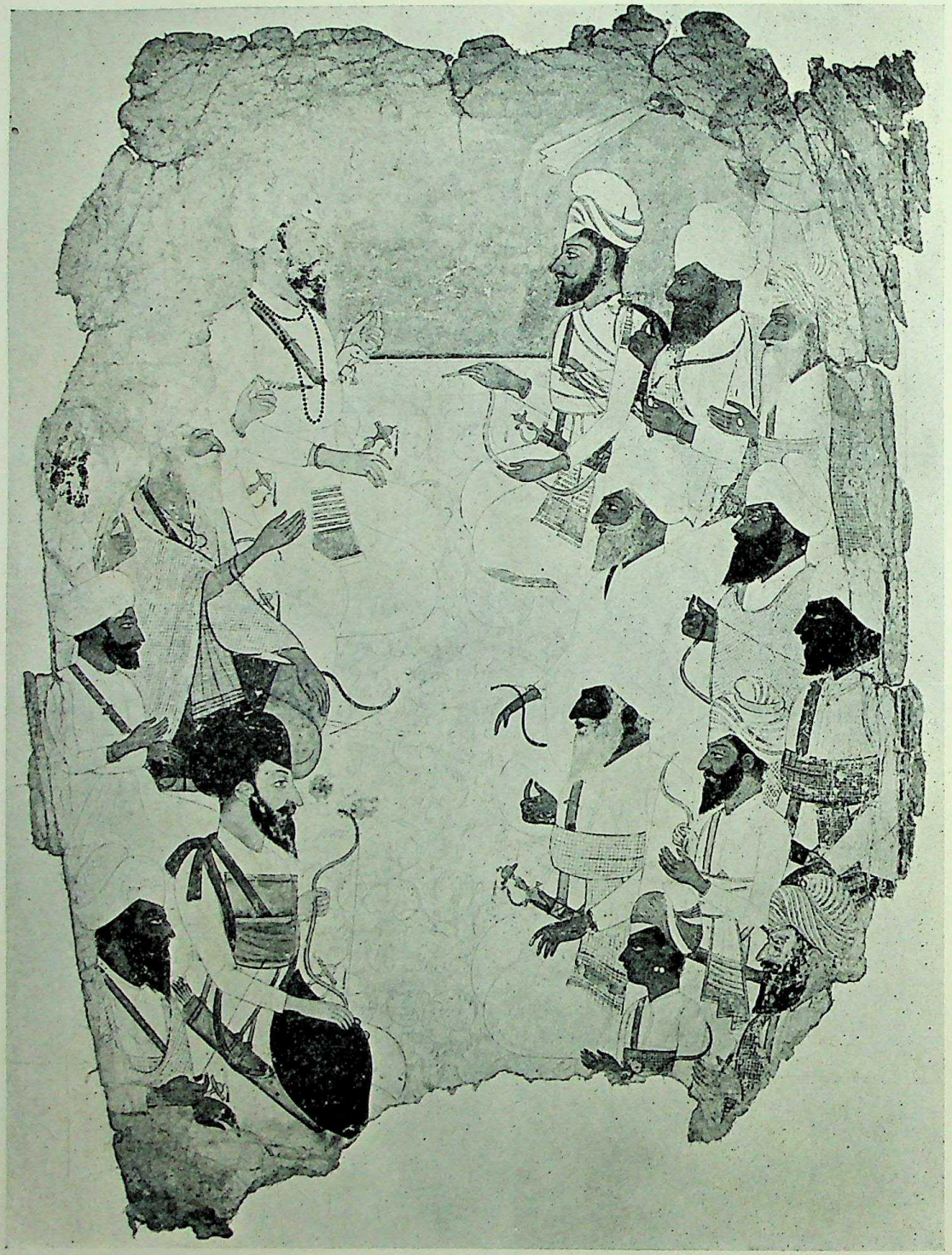

DCXIII. 17.2708

PAGE 240

SIKH ASSEMBLY

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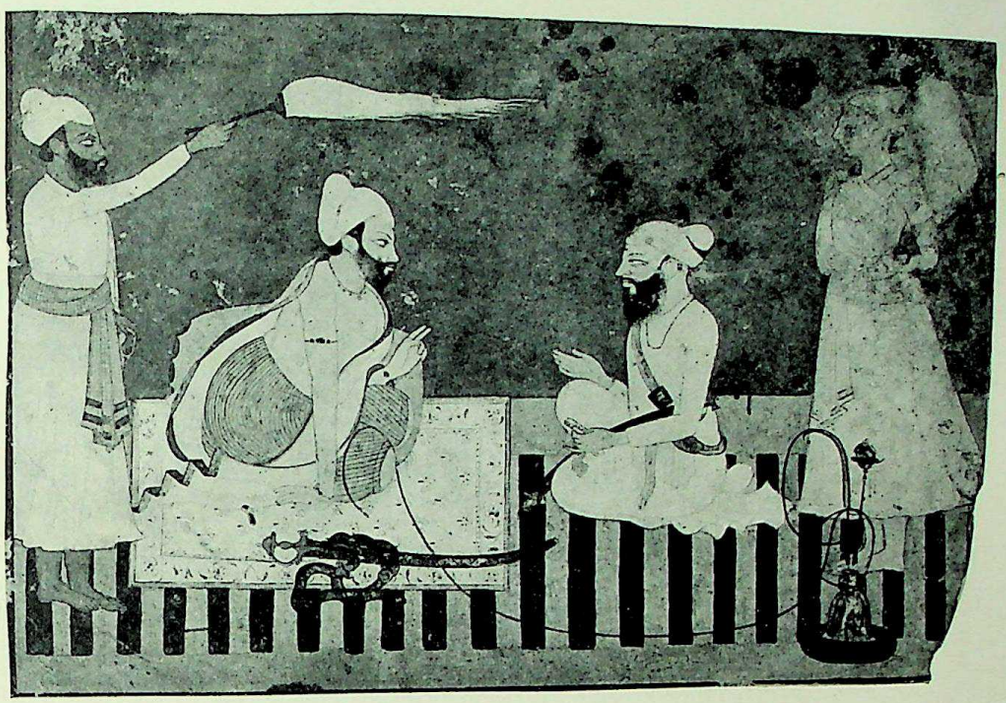
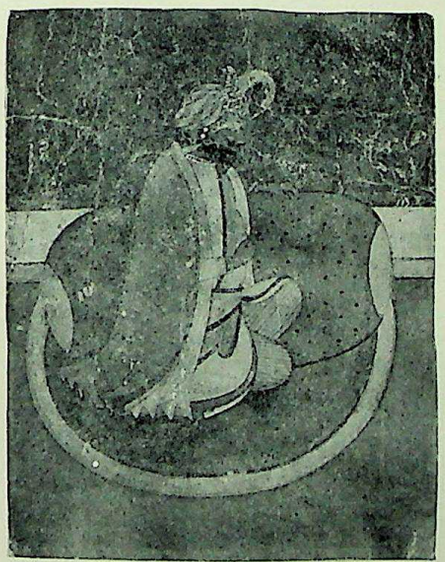


DCXXX. 17.2733 PAGE 243



DCXXVIII. 17.2731 PAGE 242

DCXVIII. 17.2714 PAGE 241

MAHĀRĀJĀ RAÑJĪT SIṄGH?

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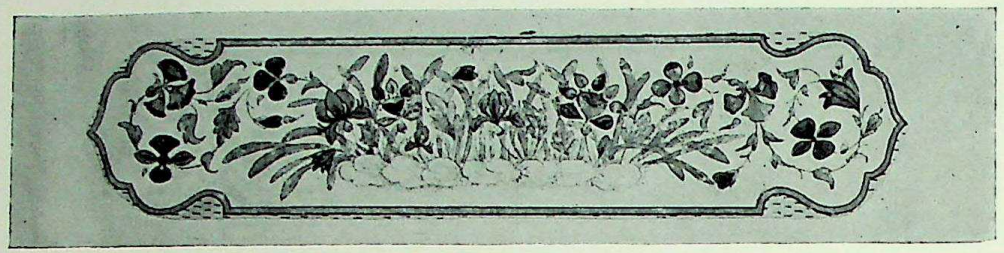
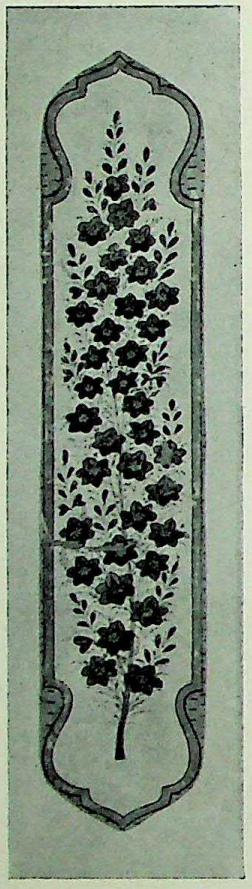
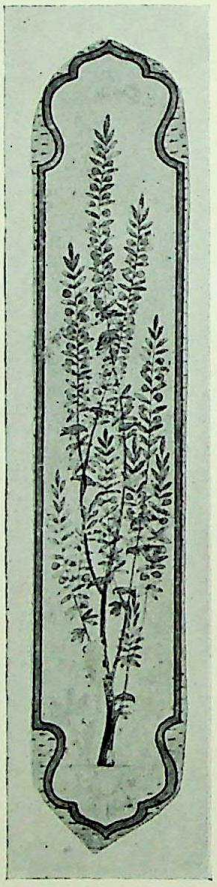
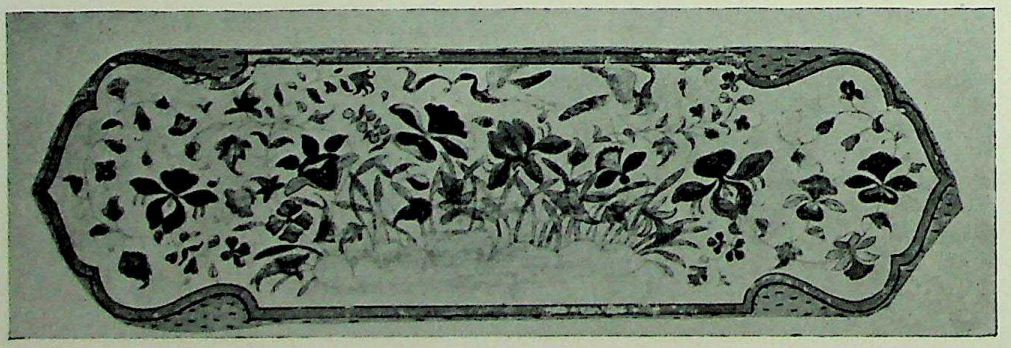
PLATE CXXVI









DCLVII. 17.2638

PICTURE BORDERS, KĀNGṚĀ

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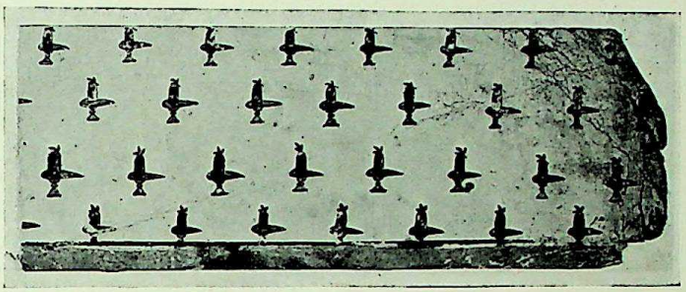
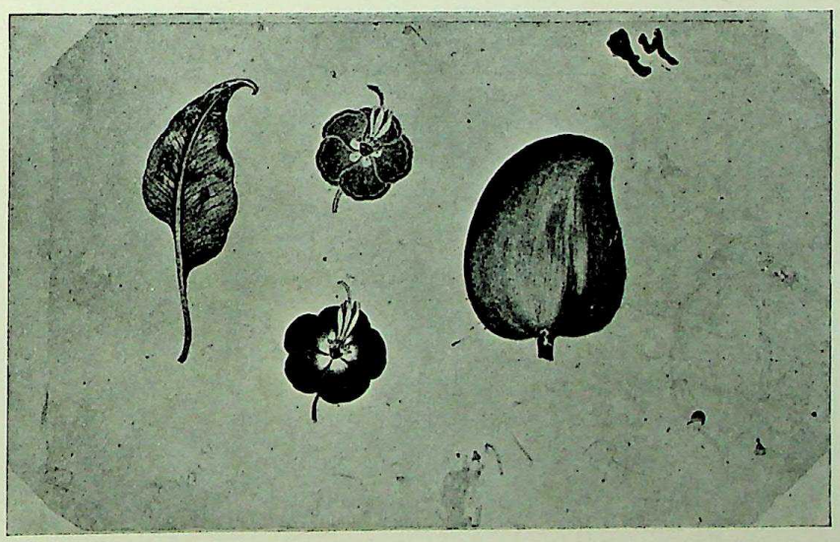
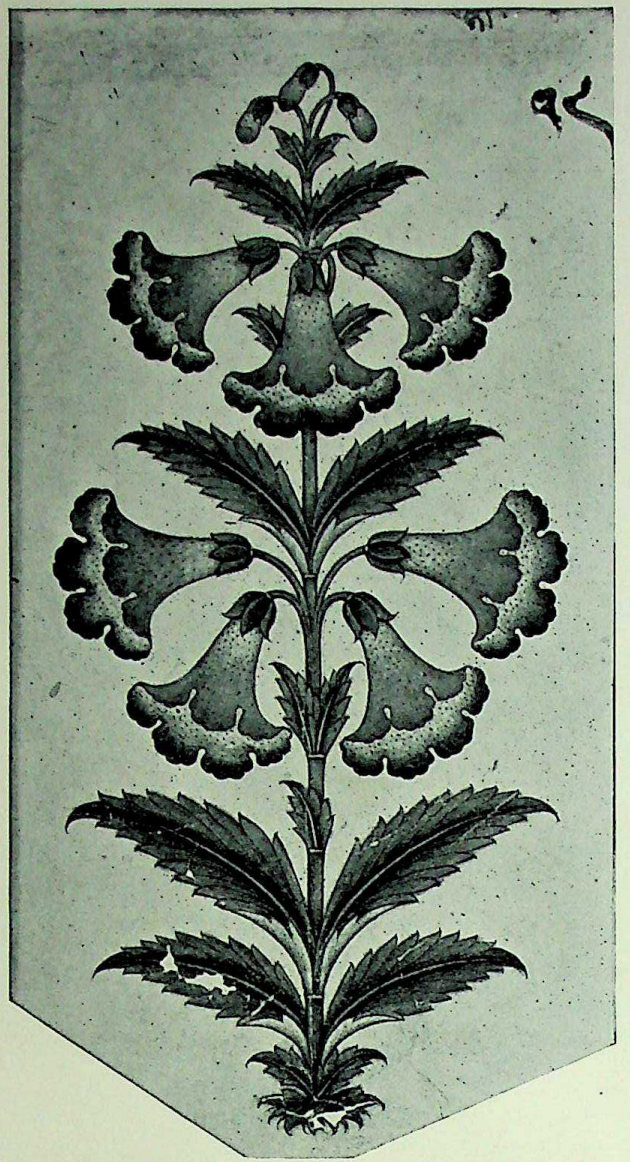


DCLXIII. 17.2637 PAGE 245

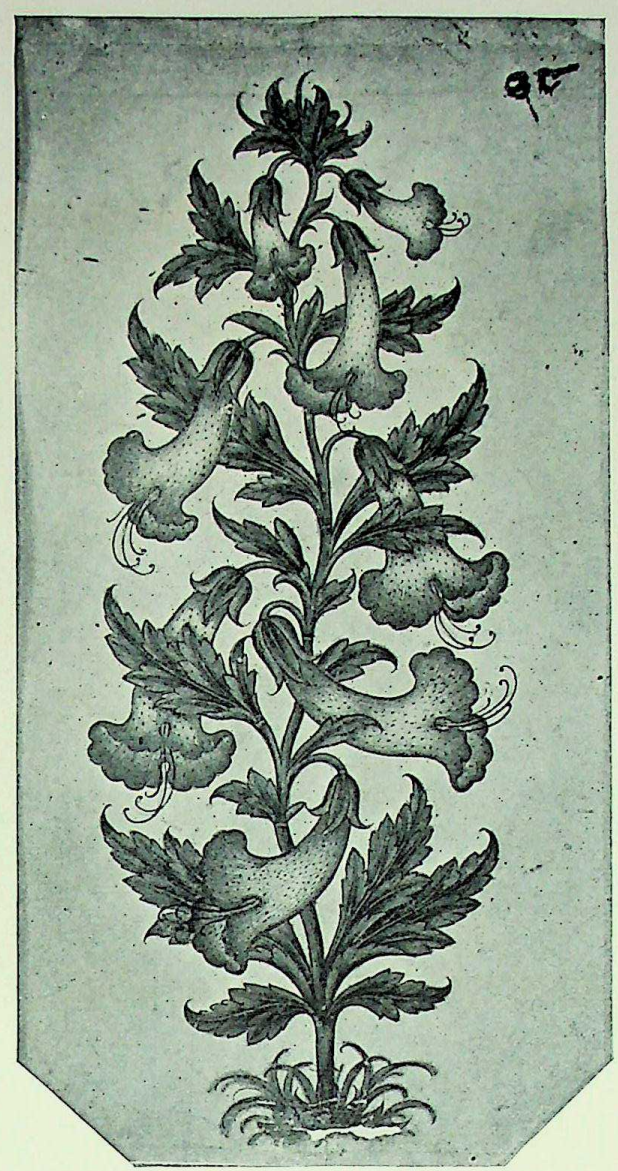


DCLXXXVII. 17.2688 PAGE 251

FLOWERS, LEAF, AND FRUIT



DCLXXXIV. 17.2685 PAGE 251



DCLXXXV. 17.2686 PAGE 251

FLOWERS, GARHWĀL

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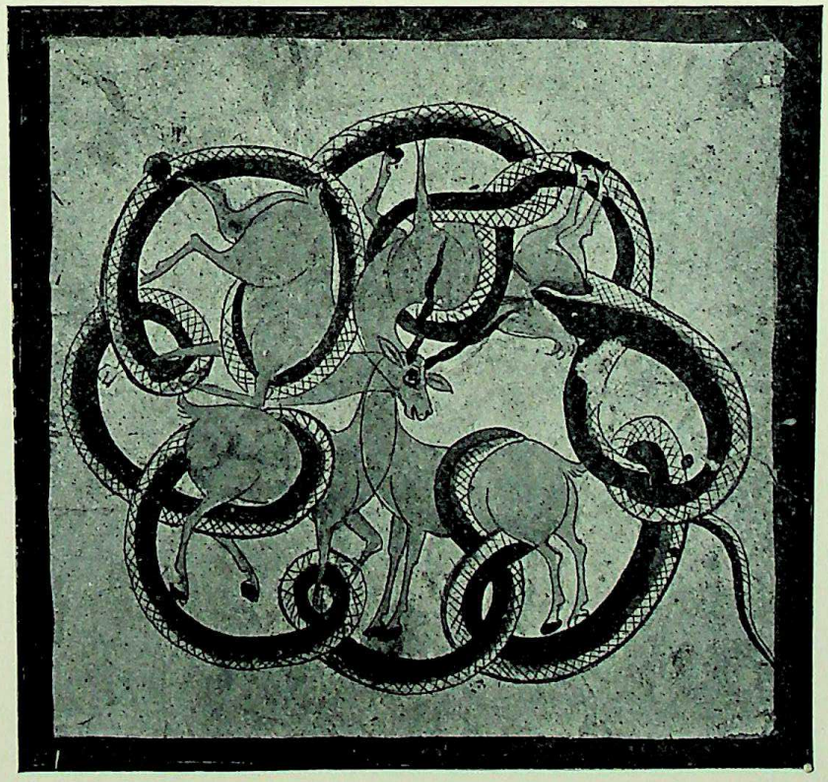
DCLIV. 25.531 PAGE 246



DCLV. 26.50 PAGE 247

DESIGNS REPRESENTING SEVERAL DEER WITH ONE HEAD

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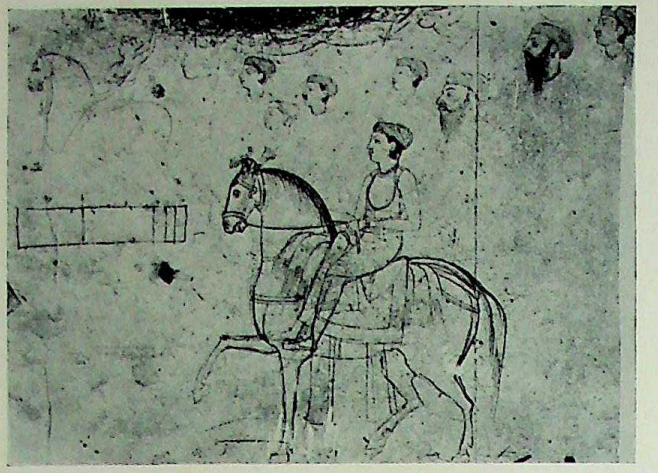
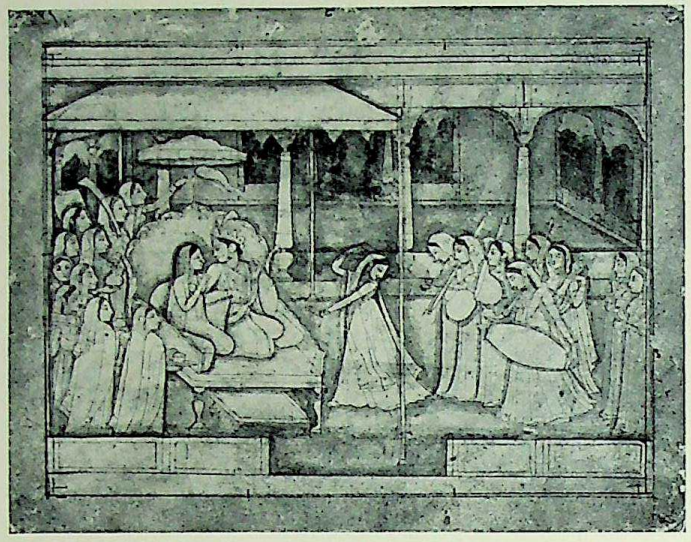
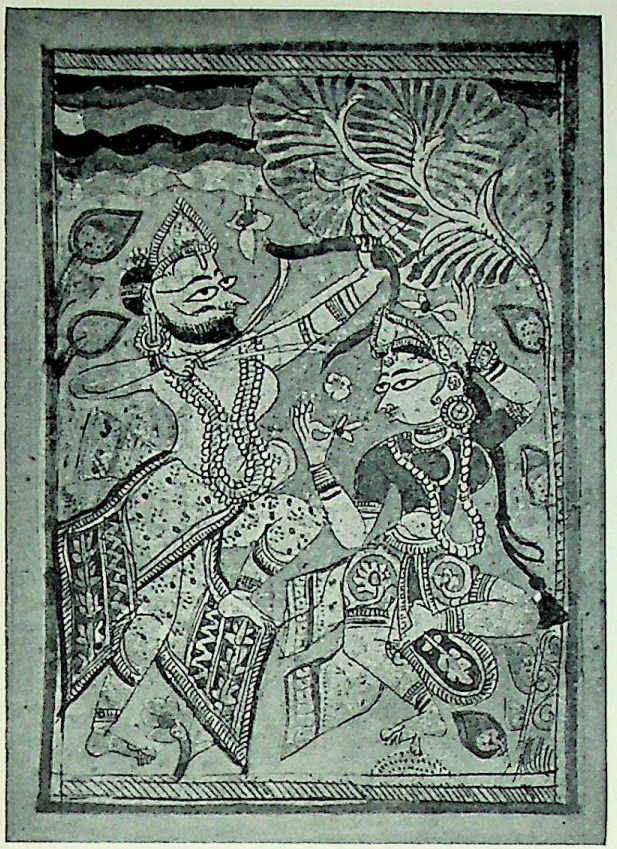


DXXII. 17.2927 PAGE 226



CCXCVIII. 17.2471 PAGE 169

RĀDHĀ AND KṚṢṆA



PAGES 33 AND 36

JAINA MINIATURE (FREER GALLERY)

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A PAGE 34

FRAGMENT FROM BĪR SING DEO'S TEMPLE, MATHURĀ

University Museum, Philadelphia

B PAGE 27

KUṢĀNA FRAGMENT

Archaeological Museum, Mathurā

25.455 C PAGE 34

GOPAS AND GOPĪS, FROM BĪR SING DEO'S TEMPLE? MATHURĀ, EARLY 17TH CENTURY

SCULPTURES FROM MATHURĀ, ILLUSTRATING COSTUMES

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